

1/14/58

A I R T E L

AIR MAIL --- REGISTERED

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-19249)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-3313)
SUBJECT: JACK KLING
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on 1/13/58 that he had learned from JACK KLING, Chairman of the Cacchione North Section of the Communist Party of Illinois, that KLING plans to spend the weekend of 1/18-19/58 in New York City. KLING stated that while he was going to New York City in connection with a family affair, he would see PHIL BART and other members of the Communist Party while in the New York City area.

New York is requested to cover the activities of KLING through its informants and sources and furnish the information to the Chicago Office.

UERBACH

3 - New York
- (100-56579) (PHIL BART)
2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

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100-56579-3260
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JAN 17 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

WLB

SAC, NEW YORK (100-58535)

January 27, 1958

SAC, CHICAGO (100-28059)

CONSTANTINE RADZIE, Was.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Re Chicago letter dated October 21, 1957, captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, FUNDS. IS - C"; and re New York letter dated December 18, 1957, captioned as above.

CG 5824-S* on January 20, 1958, viewed a photograph of CONSTANTINE RADZIE. CG 5824-S* advised SA JOHN E. KEATING that he knows RADZIE and is certain that RADZIE is the person EUGENE DENNIS suggested to serve on a proposed Welfare Committee.

CG 5824-S* stated that he believes that EUGENE DENNIS stated that RADZIE is a member of the National Russian Commission of the Communist Party - USA. If this statement was not made by EUGENE DENNIS, it was made by PHIL BART. CG 5824-S* stated that he has no other information concerning the National Russian Commission of the Communist Party - USA.

CG 5824-S* further advised that he had learned in a recent conversation with HENRY ARON that the proposed Welfare Committee held only one meeting and that it is not functioning.

RUC.

- 6 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-74560) (CP-USA, Funds) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-54651) (CP-USA, National Groups Commission) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-13923) (HENRY ARON)
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

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100-56579-3261

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JAN 29 1958	
NEW YORK	

DJLG

SAC, NEW YORK (100-18065)(#19-1)

1/31/58

JAMES E. REILLY, SA (#19-2)

JACOB STACHEL
IS - C

IDENTITY OF INFORMANT: NY 2010-S*

RELIABILITY:

Who has furnished
reliable information
in the past

DATE:

1/9/58

According to NY 2010-S*, on 1/9/58, JACK STACHEL contacted JIM JACKSON at CP Headquarters and asked him if he had any more information on PHIL (believed to be PHIL BART). JIM replied that he did not, and explained that he was going to go over there the previous day but called and found that he had come home sick with the flu and was in no shape to talk.

JIM told JACK that he indicated over the phone what they wanted and the urgency of the situation and "he" replied that he could not see how he could plunge in over night without further discussion in view of how he felt. "He" also said that someone had spoken to him in terms of "Today". STACHEL replied that this was beside the point and wanted to know if "he" would be ready even within two weeks.

JIM replied that he thought so and said he would see over the weekend.

In the event it becomes necessary to disseminate this information, care should be taken to protect the identity of the informant.

not ind
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.)(#19-1)
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(#12-11)

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100-56579-3262

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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WAB

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-88)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33736)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1/31/58

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on January 30, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information contained on the following pages. CG 5824-S* had received this information from JACK KLING, Chairman of the Cacchione North Section of the Communist Party of Illinois, on January 29, 1958.

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-3-104)(CP-USA, Counter-Intelligence Program)
- 16 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-87211)(CP-USA, Factionalism)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-54651)(CP-USA, National Groups Commission)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP-USA, Organization)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-)("Jewish Life")
(1 - 100-)("Morning Freiheit")
(1 - 100-129629)(WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
(1 - 100-56579)(PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-13483)(BETTY GANNETT)
(1 - 100-17923)(JOHN GATES)
(1 - 100-82430)(IRVING HERMAN)
(1 - 100-7918)(PAUL NOVICK)
(1 - 100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#12-10)
(1 - 100-50090)(SID STEIN)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-) (CHAIM SULLER)
(1 - 100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)(#19-1)
- 2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

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100-56579-3263

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January 30, 1958

JACK KLING's Discussion in New York City
Concerning the National Groups Commission

JACK KLING stated on January 28, 1958, that during a recent trip to New York City he was trying to determine if the current factional situation between the Right wing and the Left wing in the Communist Party - USA had spilled over into the national groups. KLING stated that he asked EUGENE DENNIS about this, but that DENNIS was not able to furnish him with very much information. KLING said that in his opinion DENNIS is too isolated to know anything beyond what is happening in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA.

JACK STACHEL discussed this subject with KLING, although they did not complete their discussion. STACHEL said that "Jewish Life" is in the hands of people who are the supporters of the Right wing and who have anti-Soviet tendencies.

Concerning the "Morning Freiheit", STACHEL stated that PAUL NOVICK has certain sympathies for the viewpoints of the Right wing and that CHAIM SULLER has even more sympathies in this regard. Yet, from day to day the "Morning Freiheit" is not expressing anti-Soviet views. Occasionally some Jewish views are expressed which could be considered as being aimed at the Soviets. On the whole, however, the "Morning Freiheit" has not gone far astray.

However, STACHEL told KLING that there is a movement in the Jewish field which is in sympathy with JOHN GATES, particularly in regard to the Jewish question in Russia. Many Jews in the Communist Party are not satisfied that the Soviets have cleared up this problem.

SID STEIN told KLING that there is a definite movement underway among the Jewish sections of the Party for some action in regard to the Jewish question in Russia.

KLING further stated that his discussions with DENNIS, STACHEL, STEIN, PHIL BART, BETTY GANNETT, IRVING HERMAN, BILL ALBERTSON and others illustrated that the fight between the Right wing and the Left wing in the Communist Party - USA and the attitude the Communist Party - USA should take toward the Socialist countries has spilled over, to some extent, into the national groups, particularly the Jewish group.

Discussion Between JACK KLING and
ROBERT THOMPSON Regarding the
National Groups Commission

KLING stated that for a brief moment he discussed this problem with BOB THOMPSON in Chicago on Tuesday evening, January 28, 1958. KLING said that he told THOMPSON that he had recently been in New York City and he believes that the leadership in New York knows very little about the problems in the national groups, particularly the Jewish group. KLING said that he asked THOMPSON what he knew about this situation.

THOMPSON admitted that he knew very little, but thanked KLING for bringing this situation to his attention. THOMPSON said that he thinks that the Jewish question in Russia is an important problem and that the Right wing in the Communist Party - USA will make a big issue of it, as well as other issues in the Communist Party - USA which are spilling over into the national groups. THOMPSON also admitted that the national leadership has ignored the national groups.

By way of comment, it could be stated that THOMPSON will take an interest in this problem because the Jewish group is the largest and most active group in the Communist Party in New York. Further, a newspaper and a magazine are involved. Also, JOHN GATES has stated publicly that the resolution on the Jewish question in Russia, which was adopted by referendum vote of the National Committee members, was not sent out of this country.

Discussion Between JACK KLING and
ROBERT THOMPSON Regarding the Inactive
Cadre

KLING also stated that he discussed with THOMPSON the fact that there is a large cadre in New York which is idle, dissatisfied and mistreated. In this regard, KLING referred only to BETTY GANNETT and PHIL BART.

KLING stated that THOMPSON said that he is aware of this. He said that something needs to be done, that he will keep it in mind, and that he will personally see that some things are done in this regard. He stated that persons of this caliber will be considered when new national leadership is established.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/3/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting the following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant.

On 1/21/58, NY 2179-S* advised that on above date, SID STEIN had a conversation in his office at CP Headquarters, NYC, with an individual believed by informant to be JACK KLING.

According to the informant, STEIN told KLING that the "extreme left of left" leaves him cold, because he has seen what has happened. He said that 14 members of the extreme left are on the Committee, and that GENE (DENNIS), in the last three or four months, has taken up the position of FOSTER (WILLIAM Z.) in the extreme left. STEIN further remarked "What you guys call the extreme left in Chicago, is the left in NY, JOHN." STEIN then mentioned that the (WILL) WEINSTONE articles is the kind of sectarianism that was defeated 25 years ago.

Continuing, informant advised that STEIN told KLING that according to GEORGE WATT, "The actual registration

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
- (1 - 100-) (JACK KLING)
- 1 - New York (100-89590) (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - Membership) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - Factionalism) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9595) (WILL WEINSTONE) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-18673) (GEORGE WATT) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- ① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-13483) (JIMMY CANNETT) (7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-19249) (JACK KLING) (7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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NY 100-80641

is now down to 200 or so," (believed referring to NY County.) STEIN then stated "We are not good Marxists," as we have not shown sufficient leadership to the ALP. STEIN said that they should forget personalities and to get theoretical leadership in order to unite the Party. STEIN said that they can work on the Party constitution and then added, "GENE (DENNIS) is not a unifying force." He said that in his opinion, the policy-making body should be the executive committee, with three members to comprise the secretariat which will be in the center. He said that you must give the idea that there is "no full-timer for evermore."

According to the informant, KLING attempted to interject a thought, and STEIN said, "Wait, JACK, we're heading in that direction - the danger is a lot more than JACK (STACHEL?) realizes." STEIN said that the majority of the National Committee is moving in the direction of the decisions of the Convention.

According to the informant, the discussion concluded with KLING remarking that he was going to see PHIL (BART) that evening, and BETTY (GANNETT) the next night.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 2/6/58

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE
INFORMANT.

- 5 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - 100- POLITICAL MATTERS - POLAND)
(1 - 100- DORA LIPSHITZ)
(1 - 100- HARRY YARRIS)
1 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - 100-421 GUS HALL)
33 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - 100-87211 CP, USA - FACTIONALISM) (19-1)
(1 - 100-74560 CP, USA - FUNDS) (19-1)
(1 - 100-54651 CP, USA - NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION) (19-1)
(1 - 100-80641 CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (19-1)
(1 - 100-128821 CP, USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100-128814 CP, USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- "MORNING FRIEHEIT")
(1 - 100-129629 WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
(1 - 100-13923 HENRY ARON)
(1 - 100-12959 CONNIE BART)
(1 - 100-56579 PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-23825 BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
(1 - 100-50806 GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)
(1 - 100-8057 EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
(1 - 100-13483 BETTY GANNETT) (12-11)
(1 - 100-82430 IRVING HERMAN)
(1 - 100-16785 JAMES JACKSON) (19-1)
(1 - 100-467 WILLIAM LAWRENCE) (12-8)
(1 - 100- MOE MILLER)
(1 - 100-7918 PAUL NOVICK)
(1 - 100- "RED" SHAPIRO)

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BY 3/28/70

Additional copies set forth on following page

CG 100-33741

ADDITIONAL COPIES

33 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) (Cont'd)

- (1 - 100-20 MORRIS SCHAPPE) (12-16)
- (1 - 100-18065 JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-50090 SID STEIN) (19-1)
- (1 - 100- CHAIM SULLER)
- (1 - 100-27452 ROBERT THOMPSON) (19-1)
- (1 - 100-15946 JAMES TORMEY)
- (1 - 100-18673 GEORGE WATT)
- (1 - 100-18672 MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-78589 EDNA WINSTON) (12-10)
- (1 - 100-269 HENRY WINSTON)
- (1 - 100-19679 ISADORE WOFSY) (19-1)

12 - Chicago

- (1 - A)134-46)
- (1 - 100-18953 CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100-24729 EMANUEL BLUM)
- (1 - 100-11065 SAM CHEIFETZ)
- (1 - 100-18001 FRED PINE)
- (1 - 100-3313 JACK KLING)
- (1 - 100-2748 SAM KUSHNER)
- (1 - 100-18234 MARY NEFF)
- (1 - 100-19841 MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-2749 MOLLIE WEST)
- (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

CG 100-33741

CG 5824-S* on February 1, 1958, orally furnished to Special Agent JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This information was obtained by CG 5824-S* from JACK KLING, Chairman of the Cacchione North Section of the Communist Party of Illinois (CP), on January 31, 1958. KLING had been in New York City during the week of January 19, 1958, for some family affair and then talked to a number of leading members of the CP, USA.

February 1, 1958

Conversation Between JACK KLING and EUGENE DENNIS:

JACK KLING on January 31, 1958, stated that he had been in the National Office of the Communist Party, USA (CP) on January 21, 1958. He said that primarily he wanted to see EUGENE DENNIS. DENNIS was not in the office at the time he arrived so KLING was given an unlisted telephone number at DENNIS' home but was unable to contact him at home. Later, however, DENNIS arrived at the National Office.

KLING stated that they proceeded to DENNIS' office. DENNIS asked KLING for details of the January 11, 1958, meeting of the State Committee of Illinois. KLING told DENNIS that while he was not in attendance at the meeting, he had obtained the details from MORRIS CHILDS and MOLLIE WEST and told DENNIS what he had learned from them.

DENNIS then asked KLING for an opinion on the report of DENNIS to the December meeting of the National Executive Committee in which DENNIS reviewed the work of the Party subsequent to the 16th National Convention. KLING told DENNIS that while he generally agreed with DENNIS' report, he would have liked to have had the opportunity to see STEIN's report on the same subject in order to make comparisons before he offered any opinions. KLING also told DENNIS that he believes that the Right danger is the main danger in the CP, USA, and that it may be necessary to alter the outlook in the resolution adopted at the 16th National Convention and state that revisionism is the main danger.

KLING then told DENNIS about the activities of the ultra-Left in Illinois. KLING told DENNIS that he, DENNIS, should, in practice, disassociate himself from the ultra-Left. KLING also told DENNIS that he felt that BENJAMIN DAVIS and ROBERT THOMPSON should do likewise.

DENNIS stated that in his report to the National Executive Committee he makes it clear that it is necessary to fight on two fronts, although he does place the emphasis

on the Right danger and revisionism. DENNIS also stated that BENJAMIN DAVIS is taking some steps against the ultra-Left or the extreme Left in the New York District and more of this can be expected. DENNIS said that while they were putting emphasis on the Right danger, they will also strike out against the ultra-Left.

Concerning the National Leadership, KLING told DENNIS that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT has suggested that the National Leadership should be turned over to a group which represents the majority opinion of the Party and that this group should be formed around DENNIS.

DENNIS stated that the Right wing in the CP, USA, particularly in the New York and California Districts, and SID STEIN, want a complete change in the National Leadership. They want everyone presently in leadership to quit. However, DENNIS asked where could an entirely new leadership be found.

DENNIS also told KLING about the National Administrative Committee meeting where the threatened resignation of JOHN GATES from the Party was discussed. DENNIS stated that the Right wing distorted the details of this meeting. DENNIS told KLING that after JACK STACHEL and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN reported that JOHN GATES threatened that he was going to quit, a motion was introduced by STACHEL. This motion called for the removal of GATES from all Party positions. DENNIS stated that this all happened before any so-called caucus, as reported by the Right wing supporters.

Continuing, DENNIS stated that he then went upstairs to his office. About five minutes later STACHEL joined him. Later JACKSON came up and then THOMPSON. DENNIS stated that they were all sitting around his office and were talking and he was not going to stop them. DENNIS stated they wanted to correct the impression that had been peddled around by the Right wing. This impression was that DENNIS, STACHEL, JACKSON and THOMPSON had walked out of the meeting, held a conference and then came back to the meeting with proposals in regard to GATES.

KLING stated that he has been convinced that STEIN had distorted the details of this National Administrative Committee meeting in order to make out a case for himself. KLING stated that he believes that DENNIS was telling the truth about this meeting.

Discussion Between DENNIS, KLING and STACHEL:

KLING stated that while he and DENNIS were talking, JACK STACHEL joined them and they discussed the National Groups.

KLING stated that after JOHN GATES left the "Daily Worker" and the Party, SAM CHEIFETZ of Chicago said to him that he had heard rumors that PAUL NOVICK might be removed as Editor of "Morning Freiheit" because NOVICK and CHAIM SULLER would not conform with the opinion of the CP, USA, in regard to the Jewish question in Russia. KLING stated that CHEIFETZ and others in Chicago felt that there would be additional problems in the Jewish field if NOVICK was removed.

STACHEL said that no one in the CP leadership has any intentions of removing PAUL NOVICK. STACHEL stated that while NOVICK and SULLER differed with the CP, USA, in regard to the Jewish question in Russia, they were not anti-Soviet in other matters, as was JOHN GATES. Only the treatment of Jews in Russia has bothered NOVICK and SULLER. On the other hand STACHEL stated that MORRIS SCHAPPES, Editor of "Jewish Life" or "Jewish Comment" has sympathy for the viewpoints of JOHN GATES and SCHAPPES is even anti-Soviet. STACHEL also stated that two groups exist in the Jewish field. One group is definitely pro-GATES because of the treatment of Jews in Russia and the attitude of the CP, USA, toward the Jewish question in Russia. The other group does not worry so much about what is happening in Russia.

Conversation Between JACK KLING, SID STEIN and JACK STACHEL:

KLING stated that STEIN greeted him very cordially, was anxious to talk with him and even invited him to his residence.

KLING stated that STEIN outlined his program to him. While STEIN's report to the National Executive Committee was still at the printers on January 21, 1958, the outline STEIN gave to KLING was very similar to that in his report. STEIN stated that he believes in a complete change in the leadership of the Party and that he, STEIN, said that he is ready to quit. STEIN stated that the present National Leadership is paralyzed. He feels that the leadership has gone backwards and has betrayed the decisions of the 16th National Convention.

KLING stated that while he and STEIN were talking, JACK STACHEL asked STEIN if he had changed, as STACHEL suggested, that part of his report which called for a socialist alignment and presented JOE CLARK in a very sympathetic light. STEIN stated that he had not changed his report since this was still his opinion and would continue to be his opinion.

KLING commented that STEIN's reply to STACHEL indicates that the Right wing is not deviating from its position. KLING stated that STEIN told him that no matter what happens, he, STEIN, will stay in the CP. KLING stated that it was his, as well as DENNIS' opinion, that SID STEIN and FRED FINE may try to maneuver for a time inside the CP. Eventually, however, they will leave the Party. Even now they are moving away from the Party, despite protestations to the contrary.

Conversation Between EDNA WINSTON and SID STEIN:

KLING stated that while he was been talking to STEIN, EDNA WINSTON entered the National Office and she asked what they expected her to do. She said that she had a little over \$1 and that was all she had to live on. She further stated that HENRY ARON owes her over \$100.

KLING said that STEIN was very sympathetic. He told her that ARON was at the printers to obtain copies of STEIN's report and he knew that there was no money in the National Office. He stated, however, as soon as ARON returned, he would ask him to borrow money and if ARON didn't want to do it he, STEIN, would. He told her to return later in the day and he would have some money for her.

KLING commented that while he does not agree with STEIN's political viewpoint, this event illustrated how human STEIN is compared to a person such as EUGENE DENNIS. Even so, KLING stated that he thinks that STEIN may leave the CP or it may be necessary to kick him out of the Party.

Discussion Between JACK KLING and EDNA WINSTON:

KLING stated that he talked to EDNA WINSTON about her husband, HENRY WINSTON. She told him that WINNIE is sympathetic to the viewpoints of the Right wing in the CP. He also has grievances against DENNIS and THOMPSON. He also believes that all of those who were associated with him in the old Secretariat should be removed from the National Leadership. This includes FOSTER, DENNIS, DAVIS, THOMPSON and GUS HALL.

KLING stated that he could not understand this position of WINSTON. He commented that if WINSTON's sympathies are with the Right wing it might be attributed to some of his experiences in the past. WINSTON had some troubles in the past and holds the old leadership responsible for the isolation of the Party. KLING also commented that WINSTON himself is now isolated. He gets his information chiefly from EDNA, who does not fully understand what is happening in the Party. She spends time with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT when she is en route to see her husband in prison. Also she talks with SID STEIN, who is more sympathetic toward her and her problems than a person such as DENNIS, who rarely, if ever, talks with her.

Conversation Between JACK KLING and WILLIAM ALBERTSON:

KLING stated that he learned from BILL ALBERTSON that nineteen people at a meeting of the State Committee of the New York District had signed a resolution calling for a complete change in the leadership of the CP, USA. The entire National Leadership was asked to resign. The resolution called for a completely new leadership made up of persons who have not been involved in the factional fights. GUS HALL would be included among those who have been involved in the factional fights.

KLING mentioned that among the nineteen who signed this resolution were GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, BILL LAWRENCE and GEORGE WATT.

KLING also stated that ALBERTSON told him that as of the week of January 19, 1958, the New York District Office had only received reports showing a total of 150 members registered in Brooklyn.

Conversation Between JACK KLING and ISADORE WOFSEY:

KLING stated that he talked briefly with ISADORE WOFSEY. He said that WOFSEY was very pessimistic. He stated that he did not know what will happen to the CP and that if the present difficulties are resolved in a factional manner, he will become an independent Communist.

Conversation Between JACK KLING and IRVING HERMAN:

KLING stated that he talked with IRVING HERMAN, who is still working in a newspaper printing shop in New Jersey. HERMAN told him that MOE MILLER and "RED" SHAPIRO work in the same shop and that both of them are out of the CP.

HERMAN stated that MOE MILLER is vociferously and viciously anti-Soviet. HERMAN stated that MILLER has developed a theory in which he states that not only should the CP, USA, be dissolved but also the international Communist movement should never have come into being. HERMAN said he pointed this out to illustrate how far to the Right MILLER has travelled. HERMAN also stated that MILLER is in contact with WALTER and MARY NEFF of Chicago. MILLER told HERMAN that MARY NEFF was in New York City recently and is in complete sympathy with MILLER's viewpoint.

HERMAN also told KLING that he is active in a CP Section in Brooklyn. The Section Chairman is a woman who had been sympathetic to the viewpoint of JOHN GATES. HERMAN said he asked her how many members would be registered in the Section. She told him about fifteen to twenty even though

there were 150 members in the Section at one time. HERMAN stated that he talked with her and convinced her to move away from the Right wing viewpoint. They then went out together and registered 40 persons in the Section.

KLING stated that he could not reconcile HERMAN's statement with the information that only 150 members had been registered in Brooklyn unless the figures in the New York District Office had not been brought up-to-date.

Conversation Between JACK KLING and PHIL and CONNIE BART:

KLING stated that he talked with PHIL and CONNIE BART. CONNIE said that she was doing a little work in the Party. BART was not doing any Party activity. According to KLING, PHIL BART was lining up with the viewpoint of the ultra-Left. KLING stated that he finally got PHIL BART to agree to resume some Party activity. He also got him to agree that while revisionism is the main danger and the Right wing has to be fought, that one cannot go too far to the Left since the isolation of the Party would be the result.

Both PHIL and CONNIE BART stated that they had not been registered because no one had asked them to register. PHIL stated that he is still working at the same job and that he is very unhappy.

Conversation Between JACK KLING and BETTY GANNETT and JAMES TORMEY:

KLING also talked with BETTY GANNETT and JAMES TORMEY. BETTY stated that she thinks that revisionism is the main danger to the CP, USA, but that the ultra-Left viewpoint is not the solution for the Party. She said that she has no use for the present leadership of the National Office. She said that she thinks that SID STEIN and FRED FINE are both "dirty dogs" for the way they treated her when she came out of prison. She said that while she thinks that DENNIS is just as bad she will go along with him politically. She said that she has not been involved in any Party activity and has not been registered as yet. She is working and, according to KLING, her outlook on life is good.

JAMES TORMEY has quit his job in a restaurant and is presently looking for work. He also has not been registered in the Party as yet. He said that he is against the Right wing in the Party. He condemned NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV for his secret speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CP, Soviet Union and said that KHRUSHCHEV, more than anyone else, is responsible for the present condition of the CP, USA. KLING commented that JAMES TORMEY is farther to the Left than BETTY GANNETT and while BETTY is bitter, JAMES goes to even greater extremes in criticizing the present National Leadership of the CP, USA.

KLING stated that BETTY GANNETT showed him a letter she had just received from her brother HARRY YARRIS, who is in Poland. In this letter he states that he is working in the radio propaganda department under DORA LIPSHITZ. He wrote that she acts like a bureaucrat. He indicated that the Polish Government does not want it known that they are working in this department. He did not write anything about the Polish CP.

Information Concerning MAX WEISS:

KLING stated that PHIL and CONNIE BART as well as JAMES TORMEY and BETTY GANNETT, talked to him about MAX WEISS. They stated that MAX WEISS has broken completely with the Right wing, yet he could not work with WILLIAM WEINSTONE and did not want to get involved in more factional fights. They mentioned that WEISS would have an article in the January issue of "Political Affairs," which deals with economic problems.

Comments of JACK KLING:

JACK KLING stated that he thinks that a leadership Left of Center should take over the CP, USA. He said that while he thinks that revisionism is the main danger, the extreme Left viewpoint should also be rejected. He stated that as far as he is concerned he thinks that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT has thrown in the sponge. He said that he thinks that SAM KUSHNER and MOLLIE WEST are no good, or certainly not much better than MANNY BLUM.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/26/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-30641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting the following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant.

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-104 (CP, USA - Counter Intelligence Program))
 - (1 - 100-3-63 (CP, USA - Funds))
- 3 - Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 100-18001) (FRED FINE))
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-467) (BILL LAWRENCE) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-18035) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
- ① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (W. L. PATTERSON)
- 1 - New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-52959) (CHARLIE LOMAN) (12-11)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-89813) (FRED FINE) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON)
- 1 - New York (100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-128861) (CP, USA - Funds (Reserve Funds))
- 1 - New York (100-128314) (NYS CP Funds)
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA - Funds)
- 1 - New York (100-128314 Subk) (CP, USA - Funds) (Brooklyn CP))

COPIES CONTINUEDHCO:mb
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100-56579-3266

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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12-12

NY 100-80641

On 1/27/58, NY 2179-S* advised that SID STEIN on the above dte, stated that a regular NAC meeting would be held on Wednesday, 1/29/58, at 1 p.m.

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting the National Administrative Committee (NAC), CP, USA, held in NYC, on 1/29/58, as reported by NY 2179-S*.

This informant stated that the meeting started at approximately 1:15 p.m., and the following individuals were believed by informant to be in attendance.

EUGENE DENNIS
SID STEIN
JACK STACHEL
JIM JACKSON
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR. (who arrived at approximately 2 p.m.)

Informant advised further that also in attendance for part of the meeting pertaining to the question of "The Worker" were GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, and SIMON W. GERSON.

According to the informant, the meeting opened with EUGENE DENNIS suggesting that the black-board be used.

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-128314-Sub) (CP, USA-Funds (Bronx CP)
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA-International Relations) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-Factionalism) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-80641)

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Remarks of SID STEIN

Informant reported that SID STEIN opened discussion and apparently wrote figures on the blackboard. STEIN stated in effect, that they should give each one of the five that are still on the payroll, their cuts? and let them get off of the payroll. He then commented that on the next week, they should get the rest of the money from the Bronx. (The informant speculated that possibly STEIN is referring to the staff of "The Worker".)

Continuing, the informant advised that STEIN then spoke on the question of the agenda. He stated that the National Committee had adopted a draft and that draft is the basis for discussion. He said that any state committee that has something other to propose, has to come into the regular meeting, propose it, and then request the National Committee to adopt it.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS then asked JACK STACHEL if he agreed with the statement made by SID STEIN.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL then spoke and commented about a committee member who had not enough confidence in the NEC, but took it upon himself to send a document all over the country. STACHEL did not identify this individual, but added that he (STACHEL) would quit the Party before he would do such a thing. He stated that he personally had not seen a copy of this document yet, but knew there were hundreds of them all over the country.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS then spoke and apparently quoting from the Constitution (CP), said in effect, that any member of the National Committee who wishes to call for a review of the policies has a right to take his views to the National Committee.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN spoke and commented that BOB (THOMPSON) made his report on the 12 Party statement. He said the NEC majority did not agree with the report, and that something else was adopted. STEIN stated that if BOB (THOMPSON) wishes to send to the National Committee the points of view that he wants to campaign for then, he should send out the view of the committee and not just the views of individuals.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS closed the above discussion by stating that they make this issue one for the National Committee agenda.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN spoke and said he would read a letter received from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. According to the letter, FOSTER wished to register his vote in favor of the NAC statement supporting the declaration (12 Party Declaration). FOSTER also wished to disassociate himself from the statements made by Comrade STEIN concerning the declaration which was approved by a small majority. FOSTER'S letter also stated that

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these statements do not represent the thinking of the membership of the Party, and that he was confident that the National Committee in its next meeting in February would correct this regrettable act of the NEC. According to the informant, the letter was signed WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman Emeritus.

According to the informant, there was some discussion concerning this letter, but the matter was closed for discussion by STEIN, who stated that it would be discussed at the National Committee meeting.

Remarks of SID STEIN.

STEIN then stated that he had an urgent matter to discuss and then referred to a letter received from BILL LAWRENCE. He stated that there are four copies, BEN (DAVIS) has a copy, GEORGE (CHARNEY) has a copy, he, STEIN, and LAWRENCE has a copy. STEIN stated that if "we" cannot get a resolution on it he wants it presented to the NEC. He said that he would like to make a motion that "he" (CHARLES LOMAN) no longer will be seated in the National Committee. STEIN said that he would go along with a motion that he be removed from the National Committee. He said that he considered him (LOMAN) one of the greatest impediments to any efforts to raise finances in the Party today, and stated that he is the source of tremendous difficulty.

STEIN added that he would not let this National Committee meeting go by without placing the issue before the body including the removal of LOMAN. STEIN added that according to the constitution, they were entitled to do this. He said that he thought it is good and sufficient time and cause.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS then spoke and in referring to SID STEIN'S comments, said that it will serve no good purpose and then commented on the placing of issues before the Party, such as civil rights, peace, and the labor movement. DAVIS then stated that he agreed with GENE (DENNIS) that it (the letter) was an irresponsible act for BILL LAWRENCE to have written such a letter, even though he told SID there were only four copies. DAVIS said that it was handled very poorly and added that he (LAWRENCE) gave him a copy yesterday. DAVIS said that LAWRENCE did not tell him what to do with the letter, nor did he say that it was top secret. DAVIS said that the letter includes not only LOMAN, it includes (PHIL) BART, PATTERSON, (WILLIAM L.), MAX WEISS, and practically everybody that BILL (LAWRENCE) considers from his view as being wrong.

DAVIS stated that the letter was a factional document and some of the facts he did not agree with at all. He said that it was well known that MAX WEISS had to (quit?) in order to get a job. He said it was also well known that (PHIL) BART had been tied up and that he is out of the city, and then added that PATTERSON is now general manager of "The Worker".

Continuing, DAVIS characterized the letter as having a factional purpose of diverting attention from a very sharp question which he (DAVIS) had raised at the State Committee concerning the fund which GEORGE CHARNEY had charge of and which BILL (LAWRENCE) is connected with in some way. DAVIS then stated that they should proceed to get a first hand financial report on Brooklyn, saying it should be taken up with BOB (THOMPSON) on his return.

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DAVIS further stated that as to SID'S motion to compel CHARLIE'S (LOMAN) removal from the NC..... He said it will solve nothing, and that they were just wasting their time on factional issues.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN then spoke and called on DAVIS to answer this question. STEIN said a responsible guy says that this much (believed to be money) was taken by this guy (or these guys) in 18 months. STEIN said that is the question, not the letter, not the motives, nothing else. (Informant reported that no names were mentioned and it is believed that STEIN had used the blackboard in emphasizing his point.)

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS then spoke and in referring to BILL LAWRENCE, commented in effect that two people were opposed, one is GEORGE CHARNEY, and one is CHARLIE (LOMAN) concerning the facts in the letter.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN then spoke and said that for six months, they have tried to handle this matter, but that you guys have covered up for him (LOMAN) and are still covering up.

Remarks of JIM JACKSON

JACKSON then spoke and moved to table the whole matter.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS spoke and moved that the matter be taken up with BEN (DAVIS) and GEORGE (CHARNEY) to result in a complete report.

Remarks of JIM JACKSON

JACKSON then spoke and closed the above discussion by pleading for patience.

According to the informant, DENNIS then asked for the next question, to which STEIN replied that it would be the agenda for the NEC and the NC.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN spoke and said the agenda for the coming meetings should be as follows:

- (1) The move to Chicago
- (2) The 12-Party Statement
- (3) "The Worker"
- (4) GATES' resignation

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that anything on the GATES matter and on the 12-Party Statement should be brought before to the National Committee. He mentioned Chicago as being a point on the agenda as well as a discussion on "The Worker," and also added a point for the agenda, namely, the economic situation.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke and said that he had 5 (points),
1) the 12-Party Statement, 2) the GATES question,
3) Chicago, 4) "The Worker", and 5) the economic
situation.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN spoke and said that within these
resolutions there will be some recommendations.
He said that he had one recommendation - that they move
to Chicago.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke and stated that he hoped
that the NEC would come up with a proposal on these
questions or at least a common viewpoint. He stated
that first they must discuss the political line
and then they could discuss the questions of leadership,
the GATES matter, the 12-Party Statement, and so forth.
He said that he wants to pattern the leadership after
the "line" is decided upon, and that he does not want
the move to Chicago to determine the leadership. He
said that they should solve political questions
first, and then discuss the other questions.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that he wants to discuss the
status of the Negro problem and have the National
Committee set up some ground rules for discussion of
this problem. He said that he had a little different

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approach and said that what is new is the GATES' resignation, so this has to be dealt with and it cannot be treated in one paragraph, saying that this was a big thing. DAVIS said that the GATES' resignation is a big political question and wants it dealt with boldly. He said he wanted the National Committee to act on the 12-Party Statement, both the NAC and the NEC statements. DAVIS stated that the leadership of the Party is practically paralyzed. He said that "we" in the NAC, can adopt a measure and then SID (STEIN) or FRED (FINE) get on the telephone and mobilize the NEC. He said this act then reverses the measures adopted and added you cannot run a party in that manner. He said, therefore, that the question of leadership has got to be taken up, and suggested that JIM (JACKSON) and JACK (STACHEL) should propose some structural leadership.

DAVIS said that he wants a change in the NAC and the NEC because every time the leadership reaches a policy-making body, it is a \$1,500 or \$2,000 expense, and that such expenditure does not make sense. DAVIS added the NAC passes something and then the NEC changes it.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN stated that the National Committee must come out with some concrete proposals on what the Party is to do on the economic situation. He said he wants a manifesto issued regarding the economic situation and the Negro question.

Continuing, STEIN stated that as he sees it, the agenda will be as follows:

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- (1) The Party situation, which will include many questions such as the 12-Party Statement, the GATES matter, and so forth.
- (2) Moving to Chicago.
- (3) Leadership
- (4) "The Worker"
- (5) The economic situation
- (6) The manifesto.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke and proposed the slogan,
"Fight for the Line of the Convention."

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke and said, "I propose the meeting open with the GATES proposition."

Remarks of SIL STEIN

STEIN spoke and opposed the GATES situation being foremost, adding that the entire situation in the Party is the main problem.

According to the informant, BEN DAVIS and SID STEIN then argued on the point whether the GATES situation is the main question in the Party.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke and said that he had no objections to starting the meeting with the discussion on the 12-Party Statement. He said that he would like to see both JACK (STACHEL) and SID (STEIN) give a report on GATES.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL suggested that GENE (DENNIS) open the meeting, this to be followed by SID (STEIN), and that he (STACHEL) would give his report on JOHN GATES.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS proposed that a subcommittee come up with the questions and then the NEC can decide the final agenda for the NC.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN then read a letter received from an unidentified individual who proposed that he be advanced \$100 a month for two years in order to write his autobiography.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that they should be careful in what they do in this regard because they might be setting a precedent that would be hard to break.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke and talked about WILLIAM PATTERSON and the press. STACHEL said that PATTERSON has two meetings a week regarding the paper, and that he has displayed initiative, and that in his opinion, he will turn out to be an excellent manager.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he would go along with the proposal of JACK (STACHEL) that the National Committee will decide on the editorial board of the paper. DENNIS then asked for the next order of business.

Unidentified Male

An individual whose identity was not known to the informant, then stated that (PAUL) ROBESON'S book is off the press, and that there were 10,000 copies. This individual said that the book is very good.

Unidentified Male

An individual whose identity was not known to the informant, then spoke and recommended that they discuss with the "New York Post" an answer to JOHN GATES' articles. This individual also recommended that BOB THOMPSON should get on the MIKE WALLACE program in rebuttal to JOHN GATES.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that he was not in favor of getting the "New York Post" to do a series of six articles, but was in favor of using the "Post" in instances where the Party has been slandered.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN stated that he would prefer to have someone other than BOB THOMPSON (on the MIKE WALLACE show), adding, if THOMPSON'S handling of the 12-Party statement is to be any indication.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that they should agree that an exploration should be made, but not along the lines of an answer to (JOHN) GATES.

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON then spoke concerning severance and said that the NAC decision places an obligation which must be met this week.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that on the question of severance pay he withdrew his motion at the committee. He stated that BILL LAWRENCE then went out and told the staff that he (DAVIS) was opposed to severance pay. He said that LAWRENCE again was acting very irresponsibly. He said that the office will be paid as soon as BILL LAWRENCE and GEORGE BLAKE (CHARNEY) release it to us. He said "we" are not going to earmark money and added that they cannot operate on the basis of blackmail within the Party. DAVIS stated that they owe the National Office and they are going to pay it.

Remarks of JIM JACKSON

JACKSON stated that a portion of the money which came in that week will be allotted for severance pay and indicated that there would be more coming in the next week or two.

The meeting adjourned at approximately 5 p.m.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/27/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-20769)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
NEW YORK DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on February 18, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information contained on the following page. This information was dictated on February 26, 1958.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

16 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press) (#7-2)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-128817) (CP-USA, New York District, Membership) (#19-2)
- (1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization) (#19-2)
- (1 - 100-128821) (CP-USA, New York District, Factionalism) (#19-2)
- (1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#19-2)
- (1 - 100-13923) (HENRY ARON) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-50704) () (#19-1)
- (1 - 100-467) (WILLIAM LAWRENCE) (#12-8)
- (1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (#19-2)
- (1 - 100-21431) (MARTIN YOUNG)

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b7C

3 - Chicago

- (1 - A/134-46)
- (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)

JJEK:kw
(21)

100-56579-3267

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 3 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

PULB

February 18, 1958

On February 17, 1958, there was a discussion in New York City between MORRIS CHILDS, of Chicago, and MARTIN YOUNG and PHIL BART, of New York City.

MARTIN YOUNG stated that the ultra-Left is capable of taking over the New York District unless something is done to prevent this from happening. YOUNG stated that he had talked with both BEN DAVIS and EUGENE DENNIS about this situation and told them that if this comes to pass, they can count him out of the Communist Party also.

In response to a question from MORRIS CHILDS, YOUNG stated that the industrial portion of the New York Communist Party District is broken down as follows: The Industrial Division, Industrial Regions, Industrial Sections, and Industrial Clubs.

YOUNG stated that the basic units are based on shops, trades or industries. YOUNG said that BILL ALBERTSON is the leader of the industrial portion of the New York District. Among the leading members are [redacted] and MARTIN YOUNG.

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PHIL BART stated that both ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and JAMES JACKSON had pleaded with him to take over as the Business Manager of "The Worker", before WILLIAM L. PATTERSON accepted this assignment.

BART also stated that both HANK ARON and BILL LAWRENCE told him that Brooklyn will register 250 members at the most. BART said that he was very pessimistic about the future of the Communist Party in the United States.

When BART stated that he is still not assigned and is still not doing anything for the Party, ALBERTSON asked him why he did not go to see ALBERTSON. BART said that ALBERTSON wanted him to be the Organization Secretary in the Industrial Division in the New York Communist Party District, but not as a full timer. BART said that he thinks that ALBERTSON is a "stool pigeon" and a political opportunist. BART said that ALBERTSON was on the Right, then in the Center, and is now on the Left. In conclusion, BART said that he would not go to see ALBERTSON.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 3/6/58

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on March 4, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information contained on the following pages. This information was reduced to writing on March 5, 1958.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

④ - New York (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#19-1)
① - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#19-1)

9 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
(1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
(1 - 100-3313) (JACK KLING)
(1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-20289) (JAMES WEST)
(1 - 100-2749) (MOLLIE WEST)

JEK:kw
(15)

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b7C

100-5-65-79-3268

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 10 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

W4

March 4, 1958

On March 4, 1958, JAMES JACKSON, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA, offered JACK KLING, Chairman of the Cacchione North Section of the Communist Party of Illinois, the position of National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA. KLING flatly refused this offer. Then JACKSON asked KLING if he would accept the position of Organization Secretary in the Illinois District. KLING replied that he would not, if it meant full time work for the Communist Party. He stated, however, that if he is called upon to assume more part time tasks for the Communist Party, he would give it consideration.

KLING then recommended PHIL BART to JAMES JACKSON as an excellent person for the position of National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA.

JACKSON had indicated previously that a full time Organization Secretary is needed in the Illinois District. He said that based upon the discussions he had had in the Illinois District, the only volunteer for full time work may be JAMES WEST, who is tired of painting.

JACK KLING told CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on March 4, 1958, that he was prepared to start a move in the Cacchione North Section of the Communist Party of Illinois to encourage LIGHTFOOT to accept a position on the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA. LIGHTFOOT pleaded with KLING not to do this, and said that he did not want to be pressured. On the other hand, LIGHTFOOT has commented that he may not be able to attend a meat cutters school in Toledo, Ohio, as he had planned, since it may be difficult for a Negro to gain admittance to this school.

- 1 -
all #/t/01 56779-3268

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

It is believed that some of the present leaders of the Communist Party - USA realize that BOB THOMPSON is not an experienced Organizer. It is possible that efforts will be made to surround him with experienced Organization personnel for the purpose of handling membership, funds, etc. In this event, THOMPSON would probably be given a title such as Executive Secretary, and someone else will be given the title of Organization Secretary.

While JAMES JACKSON has been in Chicago, he has been seeing various people in the leadership of the Communist Party of Illinois and National Committee members such as MOLLIE WEST, FLO HALL, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and SAM KUSHNER. JACKSON has been attempting to line up understanding and support for the new national leadership of the Communist Party - USA.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : S.A. C. New York

DATE: 3/14/58

FROM : Chester A. Pelly, S.A.

SUBJECT: Philip Bart, was

S.M.-C; S.A.-19K0

100-56579

Rebulet 3/23/56 instructing that persons interviewed under the Toplev program be considered for recontact. The subject was uncooperative when last interviewed on 12/4/56. Since then he has curtailed his activity in the C.P. He has, however, been in touch with top Party leaders. Recently Jack Kling contacted him and urged him to become more active in the Party. An informant has reported that Kling has recommended Phil Bart for an important job at C.P. Headquarters. Bart resides at 2415 Newhark Ave, B'klyn and is employed by Pandick Press, Inc, 22 Thomas St.

This case is assigned to S.A. [redacted] #12-12. It is suggested that a lead be assigned to the writer for the purpose of an interview.

CC [redacted] (P+C) (7)

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100-56579-326

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 14 1958	
FBI NEW YORK	

info

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 3/20/58	Investigative Period 3/3-7,10,11/58
TITLE OF CASE PHILIP BART, was.		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	Typed By: aja
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	

Synopsis:

BART residing Apt. 4G, 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, as of 3/11/58, and employed by Pandick Press, Inc., 22 Thames Street, NY, NY, during week of 1/19/58. BART observed entering and departing address on 9/13/57, which address was occupied by the National and NY State Offices of the CP. Informant advised that BART, on 9/19/57, stated National CP leadership should be thrown out. BART, as of 9/16/57, was of opinion he had been offered "Daily Worker" position for purpose of influencing political situation on the paper. Informant advised 10/15/57 BART was not involved in CP activity. During week of 1/19/58, BART agreed to resume some Party activity.

Approved <i>062</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below
Copies made: 4 - Bureau (100-3284) (RM)		100-56579-3270
3 - New York (100-56579) <i>aja</i>		
<div style="position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; left: -50px; top: 50px; transform: rotate(-45deg); font-weight: bold;">WLB</div> </div>		

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-56579

DETAILS:

BACKGROUND DATA

Residence

[redacted] [redacted] Brooklyn, New York, on March 11, 1958, advised SA [redacted] that the BARTS resided in Apartment 4G at the above address.

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Employment

Through a pretext telephone call on September 10, 1957, by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to Pandick Press, Inc., 22 Thames Street, New York, New York, it was ascertained that the subject was then employed at the above company.

T-2 advised on February 1, 1958, that during the week of January 19, 1958, PHIL BART had advised he was still working at the same job.

AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MOVEMENT

The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Miscellaneous CP Activity

On September 13, 1957, a Special Agent of the FBI observed PHIL BART enter 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York, at 5:35 PM, and depart at 6:03 PM.

T-1 advised on April 12, 1957, that effective April 15, 1957, the National and New York State Offices of the CP would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 100-56579

T-2, on September 19, 1957, advised that during the latter part of the week of September 8, 1957, PHIL BART was heard to berate JOHN GATES and call him an agent of imperialism. In referring to the National leadership of the CP, he said that the whole bunch ought to be thrown out. He stated that he saw only one out and that was a split in the Party.

The "New York Times" dated January 11, 1958, page one, contained an article stating that JOHN GATES, on the previous day, January 10, 1958, publicly announced his resignation as Editor of the "Daily Worker" and the CP. The article quoted part of GATES' letter of resignation from the CP "because I feel the Communist Party has ceased to be an effective force for democracy, peace and socialism in the United States."

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

T-2 advised on September 19, 1957, that at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA, held in New York City on Friday evening, September 13, 1957, through Sunday, September 15, 1957, the question of a Business Manager for the "Daily Worker" was referred to the National Administrative Committee. It was decided that PHIL BART should be given consideration for this position.

T-2 advised on September 19, 1957, that as of September 16, 1957, PHIL BART was of the opinion that he had been offered the position of Business Manager of the "Daily Worker" so that he could influence the political situation on the paper and eventually oust the GATES people. Further, if there should be a split in the CP, the Business Manager could play an important role in either holding on to the properties or in continuing the paper if it remained in the hands of the left wing rather than the right wing.

NY 100-56579

T-2 advised on October 15, 1957, that PHIL BART was not involved in any CP activity and was talking loudly against the leadership of the Party.

T-2 advised on February 1, 1958, that JACK KLING, during the week of January 19, 1958, had talked with PHIL and CONNIE BART. KLING stated that CONNIE had advised that she was doing a little work for the Party but that PHIL was not. According to KLING, BART agreed to resume some Party activity. Both PHIL and CONNIE stated that they had not been registered with the CP because no one had asked them.

T-2 advised on February 1, 1958, that JACK KLING was then Chairman of the Cacchione North Section of the CP of Illinois.

- P* -

- 4 -

NY 100-56579

New York, New York

March 20, 1958

007 Re: Philip Bart, with aliases
Security Matter - C

With reference to the informants T-1 and
T-2. mentioned in the report of Special Agent [redacted]
[redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York, both
have furnished reliable information in the past.

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[redacted]:aja

WKB
(11/1/58)
This is loaned to you by the
Federal Bureau of Investigation
and neither it nor its contents
are to be distributed outside
the agency to which loaned.

100-56579-32714

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

3/20/58

Encl SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

PHILIP BART, was
SM - C

Enclosed herewith is the original and three
copies of the report of SA [] and the
original and three copies of a letterhead memorandum,
both dated and captioned as above.

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REFERENCE: Report of SA [] 9/20/57, NY.
NYlet to Bureau, 11/21/57.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity or Description of Information	File No. where Located
T-1 NY 1726-S*		
T-2 CG 5824-S*	BART critical of Nation- al leadership of CP	100-56579-3246
	BART considered for position on "Daily Worker"	100-56579-3247 p. 15
	BART's opinion re "Daily Worker" position offer	100-56579-3250
	BART not active in CP activity	100-56579-3252
	BART agreed to resume Party activity	100-56579-3265
	Employment	100-56579-3265

2 - Bureau (100-3284) (Encl, 8) (RM)
3 - New York (100-56579)

WLB:aja
(5) *1/1*

100-56579-3272

NY 100-56579

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report the activities of the subject.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Bulet to NY dated 9/19/57, advised that the Department had instructed that no further prosecutive consideration would be given to the present Internal Security Act of 1950 subjects who were not then members of the CP National Committee. The subject, therefore, is one of these individuals. Therefore, submission of the 45 day report on this subject has been discontinued and the character "Internal Security Act of 1950" is being dropped from future correspondence.

Bulet to NY dated 10/25/57, reflected that subject was one of those individuals under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service who had not executed income tax returns during 1951 to 1955, during which period the CP underground was operative. The NYO was advised by this letter that the only return located for the subject during his period was in 1955.

The Special Agent who observed PHIL BART on 9/13/57 was JOHN F. CRAIG.

The pretext telephone call on 9/10/57 was conducted by SA [redacted] The nature of the pretext was an attempt to locate the subject.

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BART is a Smith Act subject and the character Smith Act of 1940 appears on the original Bureau copy of this report. New York is the office of origin.

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because (state reason)
the report contains information from an informant which, if disclosed, might possibly reveal the identity of the informant and seriously hamper investigation of subversive activity which would be injurious to the national defense.
8. ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
he has been interviewed at various times in the past, the latest being on 12/4/56, at which time he was not cooperative. It is not felt that recommendation for reinterview at this time would *not* be advisable as there is no indication that the subject would be cooperative.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
he attended the National CP Convention in NYC during February, 1957.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

FROM: SA DANIEL F. GARDE (19)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 3/20/58

NY 2179-S* furnished the following information
on 2/21/58:

UTMOST CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE
REPORTING OF OR ANY OTHER USE OF INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY NY 2179-S* SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION
TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED AND
SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

Informant advised that HENRY ARON and GEORGE
BLAKE CHARNEY held a conversation in the latter's office
at CP Headquarters in NYC on 2/21/58.

1 - NY (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-128814) (CPUSA - NY DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-13923) (HENRY ARON) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-18673) (GEORGE WATT) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-467) (BILL LAWRENCE) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-82430) (IRVING HERMAN) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (12-11)
1 - NY (100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-23825) (BENJ. J. DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-9984) (ALBERT E. BLUMBERG) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-74560) (CPUSA - FUNDS) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-128314) (CPUSA - NY DISTRICT - FUNDS) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-87211) (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM) (19-1)
1 - NY (100-128821) (CPUSA - NY DISTRICT - FACTIONALISM) (19-2)
1 - NY (100-80641)

DFG:kac
(16)

100-56579-3273

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 20 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-80641

ARON informed CHARNEY that on the previous day, he had been approached by a couple of FBI men who had talked to him previously, and that he told them to "shove off".

CHARNEY and ARON discussed the fact that the press had not as yet been advised of the "resignations" (probably referring to the recent resignations from Party leadership of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, GEORGE WATT, and WILLIAM LAWRENCE).

CHARNEY stated that he had received an inquiry from the Press regarding the N.E.C. (National Executive Committee) but had responded with no comment.

During this conversation with ARON, CHARNEY was apparently engaged in cleaning up his desk. GEORGE WATT, who entered the room for a brief period, indicated that he also had been cleaning out his desk.

CHARNEY then discussed IRVING HERMAN, whom he has known for many years, characterizing him as rigid and dull.

Discussing some of the changes that had been taking place and that will be made in the Party leadership, ARON commented that he is planning to suggest that BETTY GANNETT, (JAMES) TORMEY, or PHIL BART be designated as Organizational Secretary.

BEN DAVIS entered the room for a few minutes and was informed by CHARNEY that the latter had just received a call from HARRY SCHWARTZ (PH). He remarked that SCHWARTZ apparently did not know about the resignations. (SCHWARTZ may be identical with an individual of that name connected with "The New York Times").

NY 100-80641

Just prior to departing from the room, HANK ARON mentioned to CHARNEY that "they" had just finished paying A. E. BLUMBERG (PH) the last of his severance (pay).

Pending
 1272
 VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARD

MEMORANDUM RE: PHILIP BART

Office File 100-56579

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

Residence: A pt. 4G, 2415 NEWKIRK AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY

Employment: PANDICK PRESS INC

Address: 22 THAMES STREET, N.Y.C.
BKLYN#67
 Key Facility ☐ Yes ☒ No
 Security Flash ☒ Yes ☐ No

 Detcom ☒ Yes ☐ No
 Photo ☒ Yes ☐ No

 NOTED
 SI UNIT
DATE *3/27/58*
etc

It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record.

A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial

*See Summary**Spouse in SI*Residence: *Same*
Method of Verification: Neighborhood Source: Date: *3/11/58*Verified by SA: Employment: *Same*Address: *Same*Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ No Date Checked: _____ Geographical Reference Number: _____Tab Detcom: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Method of Verification: _____

Employment Source: *CG 5824-5** (serial 3245), advisedDate: *1/19/58* *2/1/58* that Bart employed same placeVerified by SA: *during week of 1/19/58*FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau: ☐ Yes ☒ NoFile Reviewed: *3/12/58*
☒ Subject Meets SI Criteria
☐ Does Not Meet SI Criteria
Agents Initials: *LU L B*Date: *3/19/58*APR 11 1958
20

100-56579-3274

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED <i>h</i>
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
12-12 125 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	
12-0	

Title **PHILIP BART, WAS.**
Bu: **100-3284**

File No. **100-56579**
IS-C
Date Rec.: **11-2-49**

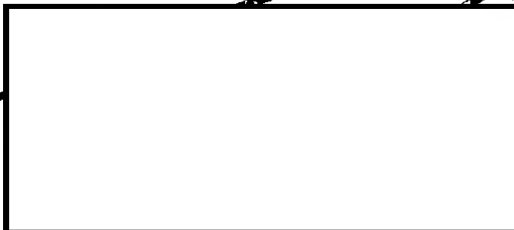
Office of Origin: **NEW YORK**

Assigned to (date)

Reassigned to (date) **E. NOBLE 9-8-55**

7-5

#12-12



12/19/53
-6-37
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FD-1D

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1953 - 262044

Title

Philip Bart Was

File No

100-56579

Date Rec.:

Office of Origin:

Assigned to (date)

Reassigned to (date)

FD-1C

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1955 335523

7-30-57 P

9-20-57 P

11/21/57 P*

1-15-58 Act

3/20/58 P*

See Memo dated 9-12-55

11-27-56 P

7-27-55 P

4-24-56

12-12-56 P

4-27-57 P

10-31-57 P

1-13-56 P

1-18-56 P

2-28-56 P

4-18-56 P

10-6-56 P

5/22/56 P

6-29-56 P

7-27-56 P

8-7-56 P

8-24-56 P

9-6-56 P

10-6-56 P

12-17-56 P

1-30-57 P

2-21-57 P

3-9-57 P

4-10-57 P

5-20-57 P

5-29-57 P

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 4-8-58

FROM : ASSIGNMENT CARDSb6
b7c

SUBJECT:

*Philip Bast, was.
100-56579*

NEW ASSIGNMENT CARD PREPARED SHOWING LAST POSTING
AND LAST ASSIGNMENT. OLD CARD ATTACHED HERETO.

100-56579-3275

SEARCHED <i>ml</i>	INDEXED <i>ml</i>
SERIALIZED <i>ml</i>	FILED <i>ml</i>
APR 9 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>WW</i>	

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4/11/58

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A
HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

b6
b7C

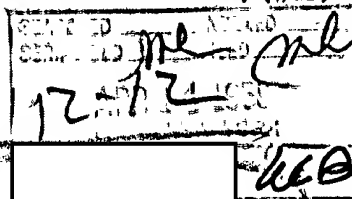
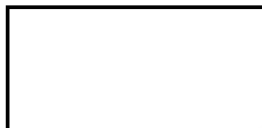
CG 5824-S*, on April 7, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING three dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [REDACTED]. This transcription is located in Chicago file A/134-46-4507. The information on the following pages is contained in this transcription, except for the portion of the information in regard to ROBERT THOMPSON, which was furnished orally to SA KEATING on April 4, 1958.

The Cuban Communist Party documents, referred to by CG 5824-S*, were transmitted to the Bureau in three Chicago letters dated March 10, 1958, and captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IS - C".

Two extra copies of this letter are being furnished to the Bureau in the event the Bureau desires to furnish this information to Legal Attaches.

- 6 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-3-81)(CP-USA, International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-) (Communist Party of Cuba)
- 1 - Buffalo (100-11933)(MILTON ROSEN)(REGISTERED)
- 1 - Detroit (100-13740)(HELEN WINTER)(REGISTERED)
- (26) - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-98557)(CP-USA, Defense Activities)(#19-1)
 - (1 - 100-89691)(CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)(#19-1)
 - (1 - 100-86624)(CP-USA, International Relations)(#19-1)

See ii page for additional copies.



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100-56579-32762

CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-80636) (CP-USA, Legislative Activities) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-54651) (CP-USA, National Groups Commission) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-81675) (CP-USA, Pamphlets and Publications) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-) (Communist Party of Cuba) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-) (Cominfil - American Friends Service Committee)
(1 - 100-) (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy)
(1 - 100-) (War Resisters League)
(1 - 100-) (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

✓(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-) ((FNU) (DAVIDOFF) (ph)
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON)
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
(1 - 100-9352) (ABE MAGIL) (#7-2)
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
(1 - 105-) (July 26 Club)

1 - Philadelphia (100-) (Cominfil - American Friends Service Committee) (REGISTERED)

5 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
(1 - 100-3313) (JACK KLING)
(1 - 105-4228) (July 26 Club)

JEK:kw
(40)

April 7, 1958

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

A special meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA was held in the headquarters of the Communist Party - USA in New York City on April 2, 1958.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the National Executive Committee were in attendance at this meeting:

BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.
EUGENE DENNIS, Chairman of the meeting
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
JAMES JACKSON
JACK STACHEL
ROBERT THOMPSON

Also in attendance were the following invitees:

MORRIS CHILDS
ARNOLD JOHNSON
ABE MAGIL
HELEN WINTER

ARNOLD JOHNSON was not present for the entire meeting.

Agenda

The following three points were on the order of business: (1) Cuba; (2) The stopping of H-Bomb tests; and (3) A campaign in behalf of ROBERT THOMPSON and the replacement of THOMPSON in the position of Organization Secretary.

Report on Cuba by ABE MAGIL

ABE MAGIL, who still specializes in Latin American affairs, was invited to the meeting to make the report on Cuba. MAGIL had in his possession some documents, chiefly documents from the Communist Party of Cuba which had been seen a few weeks ago. He also had additional communications, in the form of letters, in which the Cuban Party asked for support. He also had a couple of pamphlets which had been issued by the Cuban Communist Party. MAGIL turned over some of these documents to BOB THOMPSON after he had completed his report.

att. #1 to 100-56579-3276

MAGIL started his report by saying that events in Cuba are moving to a climax and that the fight is entering a sharper phase. He said that there were new upsurges in Latin America within the last year. The proof of these upsurges were the election results in Argentina; the legal decision regarding PRESTES, head of the Communist Party of Brazil; and the Venezuelan elections. Now events are moving in a victorious direction in Cuba.

Continuing, MAGIL stated that during the first years after World War II, United States imperialism, as a part of the cold war, moved to smash the anti-imperialist movements in Latin America. The United States wanted to reverse the small victories and concessions given to Latin American countries during the F.D.R. Administration when the Good Neighbor Policy was in effect. The United States imperialists succeeded in splitting the labor movement in Latin America and succeeded also in overthrowing the liberal regimes, wherever they existed, and replaced them with reactionary regimes. These reactionary regimes geared and distorted their economy in favor of the United States war machine.

Then MAGIL stated that Cuba is one of the victims of this American imperialist policy. Cuba, although it was freed by the United States, has had limited independence. The Cuban rich classes collaborated with the United States. In the post war period, the labor movement was split. Democratic liberties were whiffled away. Yet, despite the strength of United States imperialism in Cuba, there was resistance. The Communists were strong. An election was scheduled for June, 1952. The anti-imperialists, made up of many classes and groups, were almost certain of victory. A coup was organized by Washington. This was the coup which brought BATISTA into power and overthrew the Constitution of Cuba in favor of dictatorial means.

American imperialism dominates economically and strategically on the Island of Cuba. The United States now has \$775,000,000 in direct United States investments in that country. Cuba ranks third in United States investments in Latin America. Number 1 is Venezuela, Number 2 is Brazil, and Number 3 is Cuba. The investments of American trusts have been growing. BATISTA speeded up this process of investment, not only in sugar but also in all of the economy and commerce. The BATISTA regime has been submissive to Washington.

A sharp struggle against BATISTA started from the very beginning and in July, 1953, BATISTA outlawed the Communist Party.

In December, 1956, guerrilla warfare was opened up against the BATISTA dictatorship. Last August, when there was a general strike, it embraced most of the people of the country despite BATISTA and the so-called labor leaders who are his "hangers on". This strike took place despite economic prosperity and despite wage increases in the sugar industry.

Why does BATISTA maintain his power, despite this struggle?

(1) He has the active support of the United States in the way of arms, economics and politics; (2) BATISTA succeeded in retaining the support of the high command of the army. This group of military leaders is pro-USA; and (3) There is a division within the ranks of the opposition. He then said that Argentina and Venezuela prove that the United States cannot keep any regime in power when there is a united opposition.

MAGIL stated that the Cuban Communist Party sent us a number of documents recently. One was a letter analyzing the situation there. The second was the new Party program which was worked out and adopted in December, 1957, at a Congress of the Party. They talked out and adopted this program, despite their participation in struggle. The third was a letter asking for aid from the world movement of Communists.

Regarding the middle class or petty bourgeoisie opposition, one group favors terrorism and depends upon this completely. Another group favors legalistic tactics completely. For example, this group even favors elections as allowed by BATISTA. Both of these groups are infected by tendencies of submission and collaboration with United States imperialism and both are anti-Communist. Both of these tendencies in the opposition want Washington consent in their struggle against BATISTA. If either group achieves power, there will be no fundamental change in Cuba.

The FIDEL CASTRO group is an exception. It is called the July 26th movement. The CASTRO group is not a cohesive group. It is difficult at this moment to say what organized support FIDEL CASTRO has, but he does have support on the East coast. From the time he began his fight in December, 1956, he started with a group of eighty-eight men. Almost immediately this group was smashed and only fourteen of his followers succeeded in escaping. The cause of the July 26th movement appeared lost. But the Cuban Government failed to follow through and CASTRO succeeded in establishing himself among the peasantry in Cuba.

FIDEL CASTRO became the symbol of the anti-BATISTA movement. It is a heterogeneous movement. It is made up of people from the Right, from the Left and from the Center. It really has no social or political program. The elements of such a program may be there, but they are not clear. The Left wing of the CASTRO movement is a patriotic one and it has a lot of influence, particularly amongst the youth. The effectiveness of the CASTRO movement is limited and hindered because of its emphasis on violence and an attitude of the negation of the mass struggle. The CASTRO movement is also hindered by vacillations in its anti-imperialist struggle. It is looking too much to Washington. It is now overcoming this by the slogan of a general strike. But the CASTRO movement has no conception of how to carry it through. It started off by basing itself on the philosophy that a minority can compel support. It engages in too much sloganeering.

How does the Cuban Communist Party fit into this? The Party, which is called a Popular Socialist Party, is one of the strongest in Latin America. The Popular Socialist Party of Communists has had and still has a great influence amongst the organized workers. Even under the BATISTA terror, Communists have been elected to office, especially in the trade unions. Very often these Communists who were elected have been thrown out of office by BATISTA henchmen. But they are still influential, despite the savage persecutions. A thousand Communists have been murdered since BATISTA came into power. The FBI is known to participate directly in questioning Communists and guiding BATISTA's Secret Police.

The documents which we have received amplify and explain the Party program and also give us an idea of the kind of a government the Party suggests be established if the national liberation movement against United States imperialism should win.

The Communist Party of Cuba is growing. It recruited a thousand members and youth during 1957. It continues to spread its literature. When their daily newspaper was suppressed, they succeeded in establishing a weekly paper. When the printing plant was raided and the machinery smashed or carted away, they started another one, even under underground conditions.

The Cuban Communists have appealed specifically to one Party -- the American Party, which up to now has done very little for the Communist Party of Cuba. They have asked that we give them some help. They are not asking for financial help, although

it would always be welcomed. They want political help. They want us to call attention to the terror in Cuba. They want American Communists to organize protests and stimulate protest. They asked that we reach the trade union movement and that we talk to United States labor, which has been silent up to now. The United States labor movement did raise its voice in connection with Argentina, Venezuela and other Latin American countries when they suffered from a dictatorial regime. However, it has been quiet in regard to the Cuban movement. This is because the Cuban Right wing trade union leadership is close to the trade union leadership of the United States.

The American Communists should explore the possibilities for a breakthrough. They should explore possibilities for broader forms of the united front. The New York State Committee will hold a meeting to discuss this question.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has a Latin American Committee. Other organizations have Latin American committees. Party members and sympathizers should try, wherever possible, to raise the question of Cuba and the prevailing terror there. It is an obligation we have to assist the Cuban people in order to end the BATISTA dictatorship.

In conclusion, MAGIL stated that the Cuban Communist Party disagrees with CASTRO. The Cuban Party sees the possibility of a peaceful transition or a peaceful broad movement to eliminate BATISTA. But the Party also accepts the alternative that armed struggle may be necessary to overthrow the BATISTA-United States imperialist dictatorship. The Party does have a positive attitude toward the CASTRO movement, even if it is, at the same time, critical of this movement. The Party is now trying to change the conspiratorial nature of the movement to an organization which will involve masses of people and which will not depend upon slogans alone or on violence alone. If there is to be violence, it should involve the people and not only a small minority.

Discussion of MAGIL's Report on Cuba

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

There was a discussion regarding MAGIL's report. BOB THOMPSON urged that prominent people be visited and appraised of the situation in Cuba. They should be given all the facts about the terror and they should be asked for support for the democratic movement in Cuba.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL said that United States imperialism may maneuver. At a necessary moment, when the people become bold and the demonstrations become large and it looks like BATISTA is on the way out, the imperialists will try to take over the movement.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS spoke about the use of the Party press in regard to Latin America. He talked about the need to re-publish the bulletin on Latin American affairs. He also stated that maybe some comrade, without fanfare, could take a trip to Latin America and bring back a firsthand informational report. He also thought that a committee ought to be set up to organize affairs for the victims of the terror of BATISTA. He then suggested that the May 1, 1958, Carnegie Hall meeting in New York be organized so that the situation in Cuba is mentioned prominently by the speakers.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS then spoke about the need to issue leaflets both in English and in Spanish, and about the possibility of raising this question in various forms.

All other speakers, which included ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and BEN DAVIS, urged the Spanish-speaking minorities, the Puerto Ricans especially, be reached for support of the Cuban revolt.

Summary of Discussion on Cuba by ABE MAGIL

ABE MAGIL summarized briefly. He thought that the Party might engage in two-pronged actions: (1) Independent action on the part of the Communist Party, the carrying on of agitation, propaganda and education within the Party, as well as certain activities in behalf of the Cuban revolutionary movement; (2) That the Party stimulate the broader forces; and (3) The Communist Party - USA must find the link to the Negro people. He believes that this is possible, since the population of Cuba is made up of 30% Negro, 30% White, and 30% mixed Negro and White. The most suppressed people in Cuba are Negroes. The American Negro would see this, so there are possibilities of reaching the Negro leaders in this connection.

Then MAGIL said that the Latin American bulletin called "Latin America Today" has been out of existence since 1956. He agreed to the revival of this bulletin and to the revival of a Latin American Committee. He said that to begin with, there are a few trade unions where it may be possible to raise the question of Cuba. One such union is the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, because it has a Spanish-speaking section. He also agreed that the May Day meetings should be utilized to bring the Cuban situation to the attention of both the Party members and others.

Report by EUGENE DENNIS on the Stopping
of H-Bomb Tests by the Soviet Union

The next point on the order of business was a brief report by EUGENE DENNIS on the announcement by the Soviet Union concerning the stopping of nuclear tests. DENNIS stated that he believes that the people all over the world will support this move. He said that undoubtedly it created a situation in which the movement in this direction in other parts of the world will compel a climatic conclusion.

Then DENNIS stated that in his opinion there will be a speedy convening of a summit conference. He told the National Executive Committee to keep in mind that timing is involved. The timing is related to the re-arming of Western Germany. In GROMYKO's speech concerning the halting of nuclear tests, there was a lot of emphasis on the re-emerging of Western Germany armed with nuclear weapons. DENNIS also reminded the Committee that a Polish spokesman had issued statements recently comparing the re-arming of Western Germany with nuclear weapons to the turning point at the time HITLER took over in Germany.

DENNIS said that this policy announcement on the part of the Soviet Union has had an impact upon Great Britain, Japan and India. It has had a terrific impact upon Western Germany, as well as other countries. This announcement is meeting with response everywhere. Movements are coming to the forefront and are demanding that the tests be stopped and that the United States and Great Britain especially stop these tests. There is also an increased demand for the immediate convening of a summit meeting. DENNIS stated that in his opinion, the reply of the United States State Department to this Soviet announcement was cynical and arrogant. He said that the demand of the United States, endorsed by Great Britain and France, for a pre-summit conference was a cynical effort to stop the summit conference. In fact, it was an effort

to use diplomatic channels to prevent the summit conference. DENNIS said that this announcement by the USSR will strengthen those in the Administration who favor the STASSEN approach. It is very important to note the RAYBURN approach, as well as the STEVENSON approach. The section of the Democratic Party which favors the stopping of the tests and some kind of an agreement with the Soviet Union is broadening out.

Then DENNIS talked about activities which should be carried on and activities which are being carried on. He talked about resolutions and petitions. He said that there should be visits to Congressmen and memorials to Congress should be raised at church meetings and City Councils. A demand should go up for the stopping of the tests in the Marshall Islands and for the speeding of a summit conference. The people should demand more concrete evidence on the poisoning of the atmosphere.

Turning to the blackboard, DENNIS wrote about the importance of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Quakers. He mentioned that a number of meetings of these various organizations would take place in April, 1958. He talked about Decoration Day, saying that this is the day when people remember the dead of all wars, and it can be related to the issue of nuclear tests. He said women in particular are worried about this issue.

Then DENNIS went on to talk about things shaping up internationally. He said that there is no question but that both India and Japan will formally demand that the United States pursue the same policy initiated by the Soviet Union. He then suggested a four-page folder to be issued by the Party on this question. He said the Party can also organize its own petition campaign and get support from others. He said that they should work out a plan for "The Worker" and the Party press in general in order to carry on the demand for the stopping of the nuclear tests in the form of a campaign. The press should also answer the State Department on all issues as they are raised from day to day.

Next DENNIS said that he believes that this May Day should deal with two things: (1) Unemployment; and (2) The stopping of the H-Bomb tests. He said that many organizations such as the Quakers, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the scientists, and others, have a lot of material. This material is available for the asking. He said the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is organizing seven meetings. He

mentioned that the War Resisters League planned to march on the United Nations building on Friday, April 4, 1958.

Brief Discussion on DENNIS' Report

There was a very brief discussion in which emphasis was put on the German question and how to stir up the Jewish population in relation to the re-arming of the German reactionaries. Someone present, it is not recalled who, felt that this is the time to point out that the Right wing is wrong; that the Soviet Union has taken the lead, particularly to prevent the re-arming of Western Germany; that the Jews have suffered at the hands of the German reactionaries. The prevention of the re-arming of Western Germany is in the interests of peace for all of mankind and is also of special interest to the Jewish people.

As a result of this report and discussion, EUGENE DENNIS, in behalf of the National Committee, issued a press release which dealt with the topics raised at this meeting.

Campaign in Behalf of BOB THOMPSON and the Replacement of THOMPSON as National Organization Secretary

The rest of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the decision of the United States Supreme Court which rejected the appeal of GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON in regard to their sentence for contempt of court. This was discussed because BOB THOMPSON had made a similar appeal and was out of prison pending the results of the decision in the GREEN-WINSTON case. There was a lot of discussion on the need for a drive for amnesty for BOB THOMPSON and the need to utilize his particular personal situation to try to prevent him from going back to prison. DENNIS wrote on the blackboard that the illness of THOMPSON cannot be used as an issue to keep THOMPSON out of jail, since THOMPSON has travelled extensively and has made public speeches during the time he has been out of jail. There was also a discussion about the need to have THOMPSON incarcerated in a prison near New York City, if he has to return to prison. However, THOMPSON stated that he would go back to Atlanta, if he has to return to prison.

A special committee, made up of BEN DAVIS, SI GERSON and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, has been operating in order to reach prominent individuals, to talk to attorneys and to speak to all and sundry about THOMPSON's case.

Most of the time on this topic was devoted to the setting up of an organization bureau, as well as to the finding of a replacement for BOB THOMPSON. Although a number of candidates were mentioned, no solution was formed at this meeting.

There was a proposal from THOMPSON, endorsed by DENNIS, that JACK STACHEL be made the temporary Organization Secretary, if THOMPSON has to go to jail. THOMPSON also suggested JACK KLING as the best prospect for permanent National Organization Secretary.

A big discussion followed and the entire concept of leadership was under review. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and BEN DAVIS embarrassed DENNIS, since DENNIS did not praise the work of BOB THOMPSON. They said that they thought that the leadership is taking the possibility of THOMPSON leaving too passively. It must be fought, since THOMPSON did serve time and he was almost killed in prison. He is sick and he has family problems. The fight to keep THOMPSON out of jail should be based on human things.

Then BEN DAVIS stated that he thought that younger people should be promoted to the National Organization Department. In this regard, he mentioned MILT ROSEN, of Buffalo, New York, and one DAVIDOFF. It is possible that DAVIDOFF took BILL ALBERTSON's place as Trade Union Secretary of the New York District.

However, those present stated that you cannot break raw recruits into the post of National Organization Secretary. This position requires someone with experience. JACK STACHEL was again asked to take the position, at least temporarily. It was also suggested that HELEN WINTER could be the National Organization Secretary, if she could get CARL WINTER to move to New York City. She said that she did not think she was capable of handling this assignment and that she would not speak for her husband in regard to whether or not he would move to New York City. She was asked to tell CARL WINTER that the National Office wants him to come to New York City to discuss this, since they would like to have him in New York in order to strengthen the Center.

STACHEL stated that he could not accept the position of National Organization Secretary, even on a temporary basis. He said that temporary becomes permanent. He cannot do the job from a physical standpoint, and a younger person is needed for the job.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated that JACK STACHEL is indispensable on "The Worker". She also commented that the National

Organization person has to be the go-between between the membership and the leadership, and it is a tremendous task.

JACK KLING was again mentioned for National Organization Secretary, and JACK STACHEL stated that he would like to see PHIL BART considered for the position.

MORRIS CHILDS stated that he thought that JACK KLING is capable of handling the position, but that KLING may not want to move to New York City. BOB THOMPSON stated that he saw KLING when he was in Chicago, but that he did not raise this question with KLING.

Then THOMPSON stated that the Party has no official Treasurer and that one was needed. PHIL BART was also suggested for this position.

While there was a lot of discussion, no conclusions were reached. DENNIS apologized for not pointing out the good job THOMPSON has done and for not emphasizing that he really could not be replaced. He suggested that the special sub-committee of FLYNN, DAVIS and GERSON should carry on a fight in "The Worker" to keep THOMPSON out of jail.

This meeting of the National Executive Committee, which was really an executive session with invitees, concluded with an agreement to continue to further discuss this organization problem.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-34108)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
FUNDS (RESERVE FUND)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: April 15, 1958

IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT THE BUREAU HAS ADVISED THE CHICAGO AND NEW YORK DIVISIONS THAT COPIES OF REPORTS ON THE RESERVE FUND HAVE NOT BEEN DISSEMINATED DUE TO THE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE NATURE OF THE INFORMATION REPORTED AND THE SOURCES INVOLVED. THE BUREAU ALSO ADVISED THAT SUPPLEMENTAL INVESTIGATION MUST BE CONDUCTED ONLY IF THERE IS NO CHANCE OF COMPROMISING CG 5824-S*, AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ATTEMPTED WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY INTERFERE WITH THE WORK OF CG 5824-S* ON THE NATIONAL AUDITING COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA.

CG 5824-S*, on April 7, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING four dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [REDACTED]. The information on the following pages is contained in this transcription, which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-4508.

b6
b7C

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-3-63)(CP-USA, Funds)
(1 - 100-3-104)(CP-USA, Counter-Intelligence Program)
- 1 - Detroit (100-13740)(HELEN WINTER)(REGISTERED)
- 41 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - A/134-91)(NY 694-S*)(P & C)(Info)(#6)
(1 - 100-74560)(CP-USA, Funds)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-128314)(CP-USA, New York District, Funds)(#19-2)
(1 - 100-128861)(CP-USA, Funds)(Reserve Fund)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-81338)(CP-USA, Security Measures)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-131666)(CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-) (Camp Wingdale)
(1 - 100-) (Eloquent Press)
(1 - 100-) (F & D Corporation)
(1 - 100-51820)(Jefferson School of Social Science)
(1 - 100-) ("Morning Freiheit")

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See ii page for additional copies.

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(1 - 100-21421) (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
(1 - 100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (#19-1)
(1 - 100-) (ABNER (LNU))

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(1 - 100-) (ANDY BLOOR)

3 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46-4508a)
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)

JEK:kw
(51)

April 7, 1958

Meeting Between MORRIS CHILDS, ROBERT THOMPSON and HELEN WINTER in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA

On Monday, March 31, 1958, at about 10:30 A.M., MORRIS CHILDS, BOB THOMPSON and HELEN WINTER met regarding the financial situation in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA. ISADORE WOFSY was present for only a part of the time. He said that he could not organize his time in order to meet with WINTER and CHILDS on that date. He suggested that the meeting with him be held on Tuesday morning. WOFSY was excused and was instructed to bring LEM HARRIS with him to the office of JACK CHILDS on Tuesday, April 1, 1958, at 10:30 A.M.

THOMPSON made his report in writing on the blackboard. He erased constantly. The gist of THOMPSON's report was that the Communist Party is in a bad way, financially, and that there has been a lot of looting of Party funds. He cited a number of examples. It is impossible to remember all of them in detail. These are some of the essential facts.

THOMPSON said that this looting began when the inner Party struggle opened up. Although they have no exact figures, they do know that a number of business enterprises were utilized either by individuals or by groups, particularly those affiliated with the GATES faction, in order to obtain money.

THOMPSON said that at one time GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY had \$100,000. He was supposed to invest this money. He reported that this money was invested in negotiable securities and that he had given this money to a very reliable friend -- some attorney. When GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY was asked about getting some of this money back, he said that this investment had not proven too profitable and it was reduced to a value of \$80,000. Despite many appeals by the Party leadership, both state and national, that he tell them who this attorney is so that they could talk to him, to this day CHARNEY has not given the name of this particular individual to anyone in the Party leadership. All that the Party has gotten from this \$100,000 so far is about \$8,000. According to THOMPSON, they are beginning to write this \$100,000 off as a loss. He emphasized the fact that CHARNEY may be maneuvering to appropriate this money, if there is any left, either for his own use or for the use of his group, or that he may even have used it during the factional struggle. THOMPSON qualified this last statement by saying that he is not charging CHARNEY with individual dishonesty; however, these are the facts.

Then THOMPSON cited the example of a print shop. He said that the Party originally put \$18,000 in some kind of a print shop. BEN DAVIS, formerly of Brooklyn and not to be confused with the Negro BEN DAVIS, and a person by the name of KANTER had something to do with this print shop. After a few months, they asked the District for additional money to be invested in this print shop. An additional forty some thousand dollars, perhaps \$45,000, was obtained from the New York District. There was a minority partner in the print shop. After a few months, or sometime in August, 1956, this print shop was liquidated and the so-called minority partner became the owner by buying the rest of the shares for a few thousand dollars. THOMPSON did not state the exact figure, but did say that it was less than \$8,000.

In this connection, THOMPSON stated that it is obvious that somebody was taken for a ride -- namely, the Party. They may have used this gimmick of the print shop to acquire money which was later used either by these individuals or by the Right wing group.

Then THOMPSON said that sometime in 1957 BILL LAWRENCE asked for \$12,000 to invest in some partnership in some music publishing establishment. A partnership in this music publishing establishment was purchased. According to LAWRENCE, this establishment was not to be used to give anyone a job, but was to be used rather for the purpose of allegedly placing a few people, perhaps including himself, on the payroll so that, for Social Security purposes, the employer would be a private employer instead of being the Party. Later on, someone asked for more money to invest in this establishment ostensibly to make a profit which would go to the Party. However, after a few months, or sometime in the late fall of 1957, this partnership was also sold for a paltry few dollars. In this case, the minority partner once again became the sole owner of the establishment.

Then THOMPSON went into the Brooklyn matter. He said that to this day they have not been able to get anything from Brooklyn. Recently, however, CHARLES LOMAN agreed to the setting up of a committee by the New York District for the purpose of making an audit of the funds in Brooklyn. THOMPSON did mention that originally they had some apartment houses, a drug firm and some other businesses in Brooklyn, but most of these have been sold. Even what remains is not in liquid form. He implied that henceforth Brooklyn may be co-operating, but the individuals involved, who has what, the amount of money, the legal control of businesses,

etc., are still a mystery to the district and to the national leadership.

THOMPSON did not put so much emphasis upon the mishandling of funds by the Leftists as he did upon the mishandling of funds by the Right wing. He also pointed out that the attorney, SAM NEUBERGER, seems to be involved in all of these transactions, both in the district and in the counties.

THOMPSON made no precise reports regarding New York State finances beyond the last few months. He repeated a previous assertion that BILL NORMAN walked off with \$25,000 and that to this date none of this money has been returned.

THOMPSON stated that there is no question but that hundreds of thousands of dollars were misappropriated by various individuals and groups. He also emphasized that the Party has no legal means of compelling any one of these individuals to return this money.

Then THOMPSON stated that the National Office has now made up a list of thirty individuals who are contributors or who have been contributors to the Party in the past. The names of these individuals have been divided among the Party leaders, who will visit with them, talk to them and try to get donations and contributions from them. He said that so far there have been few meetings between the Party leaders and these individuals. However, he cited an example of one case -- the name of the individual is not known to this reporter -- who has already contributed \$500. This individual was allegedly pleased that the Party people came to see him. Most of those who have been visited want to discuss problems other than finances. THOMPSON said that this part of the work has been neglected up to now. He said that he hopes that this list can be enlarged. He said also that perhaps some of those on the present list will refuse to contribute, but the Party leadership will at least know about it. THOMPSON then stated that this program would in no way conflict with the other groups of people who make contributions to the reserve fund. In other words, the national leadership will not be working at cross purposes with those persons receiving contributions from individuals for the reserve fund. There will not be a duplication of effort.

THOMPSON then stated that he wanted the National Auditing Committee, consisting of HELEN WINTER and MORRIS CHILDS, to bring in some recommendations on the control of finances, so that

there will be no repetition of the abuses which have been witnessed in the recent past.

During this discussion, most of THOMPSON's remarks were written on the blackboard. No notes could be taken by anyone present. This is why it is so difficult to remember figures. During this discussion, THOMPSON was informed by telephone that the United States Supreme Court decision in regard to the GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON case could affect him. From that moment on, while he made an effort, his mind was not on this discussion but on other matters, so it was agreed to terminate this discussion of finances.

Meeting Between MORRIS CHILDS, HELEN WINTER, ISADORE WOFSY and LEM HARRIS

On Tuesday, April 1, 1958, there was a meeting between HELEN WINTER, MORRIS CHILDS, LEM HARRIS and ISADORE WOFSY in the office of JACK CHILDS.

WOFSY had little pieces of paper in his hands. He put these small pieces of paper on the table but never let them out of his hands. Yet, he asked the Auditing Committee to go over these figures. Since no notes could be made, the following is what could be remembered:

In January, 1957, there was a balance of \$185,500 in WOFSY's funds or the national reserve fund. In January, 1958, the balance for this fund was \$61,609. Not all of this balance is in cash. Some of it is in the form of loans. The total income for the reserve fund in 1957 was \$78,951.

As well as can be recalled, WOFSY gave the National Office of the Communist Party - USA \$131,104 in 1957. WOFSY loaned \$18,000 to the New York District in 1957. \$100,000 went to "J". It is not known who "J" is. It may be JACK STACHEL. \$5,366 went to "B". This could be BITTELMAN. \$1,225 went for legal expenses. \$645 went to "M.W." These initials are those of MAC WEISS. \$200 went to PHIL BART, perhaps for severance pay. \$1,485 was for "PEGGY". This must be the wife of EUGENE DENNIS. \$21,500 went to the "Daily Worker". \$800 went to someone referred to only as "Y". \$7,717 went to somebody referred to only as "K". The total is \$172,842. Then he also had a figure of \$30,000, making the grand total of expenditures \$202,842. It is possible that this \$30,000 was spent in connection with the purchase of the building at 23 West 26th Street, the present headquarters of the Communist Party - USA.

WOFSY said that his biggest income is declining. In his secret notes the word "Chadac" (ph) signifies the building on 12th Street. He said that a number of lofts are now vacant in the building on 12th Street. Therefore, the income from the building has been reduced. He further stated that two floors are vacant and that more floors may become vacant. This means that the building will be operating at a loss, unless they rent additional space soon.

The name "LEE" signifies the LEVISON brothers in WOFSY's records. He said that "LEE" has not seen him for four months and has refused to see him up to now on the grounds of security. However, a few dollars have been coming in from "LEE". WOFSY said that he does not know whether they have cut down the contributions as a result of the business reverses due to the recession or whether it is due to the fact that they are politically in disagreement with the Party. They were in the scrap metal business. He said that he was supposed to see them or see one of them during the week of March 30, 1958. He said that if they did not show up, then he would know that someone else will have to try to meet with them. CHILDS asked who else could possibly see them, if they refused to see him. He replied that there is a good possibility that they may see EUGENE DENNIS. He said that DENNIS did talk to them at one time. They liked to talk politics with him. If the security angle can be solved, he may meet with them, unless they are determined to drop away. WOFSY indicated, however, that their political complexion is to the Left and not to the Right.

While those present were looking at WOFSY's assorted pieces of paper, he showed them his statistics for income and expenditures for the first three months of 1958.

The 1958 income is as follows:

January :	\$ 9,165
February:	1,438
March :	<u>2,622</u>
Sub total	\$13,225
Balance 1/1/58	<u>61,609</u>
Total :	\$74,834

The following are the expenditures for 1958:

January :	\$13,415
February:	10,700
March :	<u>8,039</u>
Total :	\$32,154

\$32,154, deducted from \$74,834, leaves a balance of \$42,680. Added to this is about \$3,000, which may be claimed from bail refunds. Thus, WOFSY's fund has a balance of \$45,680 as of the end of March, 1958.

Here is how WOFSY broke down some of the expenditures for 1958. \$11,000 went to BOB THOMPSON, probably for the National Office. \$7,000 went to the printer or Prompt Press. \$13,750 was given to the New York District as a loan. \$2,500 went to someone referred to only as "B". \$10,621 went to F & D. \$740 went to "S.S.", which is southern solidarity.

F & D Obligations

WOFSY stated that the F & D has been liquidated. Machinery has been sold for \$20,000. There is a prospect for the sale of additional machinery for \$25,000. The F & D obligations amounted to \$50,000. Somebody in the Party signed notes for \$20,000. TRACHTENBERG also signed some notes, but WOFSY did not indicate the amount of the notes signed by him. In any case, \$5,000 is still owed to TRACHTENBERG. \$10,600 is due to WOFSY. The tax will be about \$3,400. They have to settle with the printers union and this may run between \$5,000 and \$6,000. WOFSY said that they are trying to settle for two-thirds of what the printers union is asking for because the printer did other work besides newspaper printing. Because of this, it is felt that the union is not entitled to the amount it is claiming. In any case, the F & D organization has been wiped out.

The "Daily Worker" owed the F & D \$45,000. The "Daily Worker" had paid the F & D \$20,000, and \$12,500 was paid as a settlement for the \$45,000 obligation. WOFSY said that the obligations resulting from the closing down of the "Daily Worker" amounted to \$65,000.

When the F & D was liquidated, the "Morning Freiheit" retained all the machinery it needed. Yet, the "Freiheit" owes \$15,000 to the F & D, which it refuses to pay. The "Freiheit" claims that it was in the partnership. WOFSY said that this is not so, since the printing establishment was a separate corporation. WOFSY suggests that the "Freiheit" pay at least \$5,000 on this \$15,000 obligation. Of course, this suggestion is made to the Party so that the Party will demand that the "Freiheit" pay this money. WOFSY said that he believes that the "Freiheit" came out of this transaction unhurt so far.

Prompt Press

WOFSY then discussed Prompt Press. He said that the Party is not the legal owner of Prompt Press. He stated that a few years ago it was worth at least \$130,000. Now, if it was to be sold, it would be worth only \$65,000. He said that he had talked to COHEN, who manages this press. COHEN ostensibly states that he understands that he is not the owner, but WOFSY repeated, and LEM HARRIS agreed, that the Party has no way of retrieving its investment or of proving ownership in Prompt Press.

WOFSY and HARRIS stated that in regard to Prompt Press, the Party is at the mercy of COHEN and his wife, who seems to run the book binding department. Between them, they have an income of at least \$300 or more per week. However, if COHEN should decide to sell Prompt Press, the Party could not possibly get any money from him.

WOFSY cited an experience. Last year he gave COHEN \$10,000 to put away for him or to hold in trust until such time as WOFSY might need it. COHEN claimed that at the time he was negotiating for a loan at a bank and that he needed the loan for the business. The bank did not come through with the loan. Without asking permission of WOFSY, COHEN appropriated some of this \$10,000 which he was keeping for WOFSY and invested it in the business. To date, he has made no effort to pay back any of this money. The Party is, so to say, taking this out in trade. In other words, the Prompt Press is doing some printing for the Party and the Party is not paying the current bills until such time as the \$10,000 which COHEN used is exhausted.

It should be noted that the transaction by which WOFSY gave COHEN \$10,000 to keep for him is the method used for the safe-keeping of the reserve funds. The reserve funds are given to various individuals and these individuals are asked for it whenever the money is needed.

The Building at 23 West 26th Street

Regarding the building at 23 West 26th Street, WOFSY stated that the rent and upkeep runs to \$5,600 per year. According to WOFSY, the New York District has not paid any rent for the last year. He stated that the rent for the year 1958 has to be paid in advance on April 1, 1958. It should be pointed out that subsequently BILL ALBERTSON denied to MORRIS CHILDS and HELEN WINTER

that the New York District rent had not been paid. He said that the rent was paid to HANK ARON. While this could not be proven or disproven at the time, it should be noted that there are discrepancies regarding the payment of rent by the New York District.

ELLA REEVE BLOOR Farm in Pennsylvania

WOF SY again talked about the ELLA REEVE BLOOR farm in Pennsylvania. He said that this farm has been sold. They gave permission to BLOOR's husband, ANDY, who was living on the farm, to sell it and to build a new home. This permission to sell was granted because the buildings were in bad shape and it would not have paid to rebuild them. Since they were obligated to keep ANDY on the farm until his death, and since he is an experienced do-it-yourself builder, they agreed to buy some land and an old abandoned school house. He is rebuilding this school house and there is a stipulated agreement that this property will revert to the Party upon the death of ANDY. Since LEM HARRIS handled this transaction, it is assumed that he signed the agreement.

Camp at Wingdale, New York

WOF SY said that the camp at Wingdale, New York, is a losing proposition. They leased it to some people who managed the camp previously. A five-year contract lease has been signed. If this camp is run at a profit, the District and National Office can make \$5,000. There is a \$30,000 mortgage on the camp. The value of the camp is \$125,000. Less taxes, \$30,000 could be realized if the camp were to be sold. In the meantime, however, they are going to try this lease and contract arrangement to see if they can make a little money in this manner.

The THOMAS RICHARDSON Home

There is still \$9,000 due from the THOMAS RICHARDSON home. He is paying \$65 per month, or \$780 per year.

The Jefferson School of Social Science Fund

The Jefferson School of Social Science fund is in the hands of TRACHTENBERG. This fund resulted from the sale of the building on the Avenue of the Americas. WOF SY said that he knows very little about this fund, except that it is in the hands of TRACHTENBERG.

Bail Funds

WOFSY said that there is some money involved in bail. He stated that they met all genuine claims for refunds. They not only honor those who have receipts, but sometimes honor claims without receipts if the claimant has witnesses. He cited an example in which a widow brought witnesses and proved that her husband had given money to a bail fund.

Then WOFSY said that there may be some trouble regarding this bail fund. He said he signed a receipt for \$19,500 in bail funds he received from the New York District. The receipt was given to the New York District and the National Office assumed responsibility for any claims. He said that since no one could give any accounting for this fund, people may make claims exceeding the total sum in the fund. This was the reason for citing the example of the widow who had witnesses. WOFSY said that these claims have to be honored in order to be able to get bail funds in the future. If word got around that claims were not being honored because of some technical error, this would impede the collection of funds or money for bail bonds in the future.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

If the figures in this report do not balance, it is not my fault. It is impossible to make heads or tails out of these pieces of paper which WOFSY carries around in his pocket.

HELEN WINTER and MORRIS CHILDS had meetings with BILL ALBERTSON and HANK ARON on Tuesday afternoon, April 1, 1958. The result of these meetings showed discrepancies. For example, the National Office financial statement for 1957 shows contributions of \$121,000 in round figures. According to WOFSY, the contributions during 1957 amounted to \$131,104. It is possible that the additional \$10,000, in round numbers, was spread around and listed under different headings, but so far we have been unable to unravel this mystery.

A similar situation applies to WOFSY's claims against the New York District. It will be recalled that in July, 1957, WOFSY mentioned an estate which was to be shared by the National Office and the New York District. He insists that \$16,500 is due to the National Office from the estate. ALBERTSON said that this is not exactly so. ALBERTSON said that while it is true that \$33,000 was involved in this estate, the National Office has already received many thousands of dollars, while the New York District Office has received only about \$1,500 thus far. The New York District does not consider that it has any obligations to the National Office in regard to this estate until it obtains enough money from the estate equal the amount already received by the National Office.

WOFSY also claimed that the District Office owes him \$1,250 on some loan or in some transaction in which the District Office was short by this amount. He said that NORMAN SCHRANK owes him \$7,500. Someone referred to only as "ABNER" owes him \$840. The District Office also owes him \$100 on the exchange of a bond. He also claims that the New York District owes \$15,000, since the District was supposed to repay the National Office for an outlay of this sum for the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". He claims that if the sum of \$16,500 due from the estate is included, the New York District owes him \$39,100. This does not include whatever money the District may owe to HANK ARON or the official bookkeeping department of the National Office.

Perhaps if we were able to lay our hands on WOFSY's pieces of paper and it became a point of discussion, we could make heads or tails out of them. His hands shake and in his monosyllables he tries to tell a story and to demonstrate that his account balances.

The National Auditing Committee complained about this. Undoubtedly when this committee makes its report to the National Executive Committee, possibly around April 21, 1958, it will insist on a different bookkeeping system for the reserve fund. Since WOFSY has asked to be relieved of his position sometime in July, or not later than Labor Day, it may be easier to work with his successor or the records of the successor may be in better shape and may be made available to us. The logical candidate as WOFSY's successor is LEM HARRIS.

If this seems like a mixed up report, that is exactly what it was. Except for these few general figures on income and some expenditures, it is hard to figure out the details. The only reason we know the identity of "LEE" is that HARRIS said: You know these people, the two brothers. It was necessary to ask pointblank what "Chadac" (ph) referred to.

It is possible that these mixed up figures, in the hands of an accountant or an expert, could have some meaning, if compared with the more legible accounts in the official Party statement.

It is my personal belief that the financial situation in New York State, the misappropriation of funds in New York State, the Brooklyn scandal, and the misappropriation of funds by BILL NORMAN are no longer secrets. They are undoubtedly known by scores, if not hundreds of people.

For security reasons, it may be inadvisable at this juncture to do anything in regard to the reserve fund and very little can be proven in this connection. However, if something can be done in regard to the other transactions, if some of these things could be exposed to the public eye, public scrutiny, it would make it very difficult for them to obtain funds in the future and it would undoubtedly affect the reserve fund.

We have an understanding with BOB THOMPSON that another committee, in addition to the WOFSY Committee, may be set up to handle funds. The Reserve Fund Committee would remain under WOFSY or LEM HARRIS, and the new committee would work independently of this Reserve Fund Committee. JACK CHILDS has been mentioned for the new committee.

To repeat, the Auditing Committee will make a report. Perhaps more details will be available at that time. The Auditing Committee will make a point of the fact that unless the receipts

and scraps of paper which WOFSY carries around or hides are made available, it is very difficult to figure anything out. It is difficult to press this any further, since HELEN WINTER usually refuses to sign these auditing accounts. She wants the Auditing Committee dissolved. Even though these accounts are mixed up, since we do not at this time know all the details, an effort will be made to continue the Auditing Committee.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-34108)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
FUNDS (RESERVE FUND)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4-16-58

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A
HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau dated March 12, 1958;
and re Bulet to Chicago dated March 18, 1958, concerning ROBERT
WIRTZ.

CG 5824-S*, on April 7, 1958, orally furnished to SA
JOHN E. KEATING the information contained on the following page.
This information was reduced to writing on April 11, 1958.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

1 - Newark (100-) (ROBERT WIRTZ) (REGISTERED)

③ - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-128861) (CP-USA, Funds) (Reserve Fund) (#19-1)
1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#19-1)

3 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)

JEK:kw
(9)

100-56579-3278

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 18 1958	
FBI	
RK	

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April 7, 1958

During the week of March 30, 1958, PHIL BART stated to MORRIS CHILDS that in recent months he could not get near to BOB WIRTZ. BART stated that he had not seen WIRTZ in at least a year. He said that WIRTZ's wife keeps him apart from anybody in the Communist Party. BART also stated that WIRTZ never did want anyone to see him at his residence, so BART used to meet him at the Port Authority Bus Terminal on the West side of New York City. BART said that he cannot break through WIRTZ's wife in order to make arrangements to meet with WIRTZ.

Then BART told CHILDS that CHILDS would probably have the same trouble in trying to see WIRTZ that BART has had, and that CHILDS would probably be wasting his time trying to contact WIRTZ. CHILDS commented to BART that in view of this information, he would tell BOB THOMPSON that in his opinion it would be useless to attempt to contact WIRTZ for a contribution to the Communist Party.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18963)
 FROM : SA ARTHUR H. CHRISTENSEN
 SUBJECT: CP, ILLINOIS
 FACTIONALISM
 IS - C

DATE: 4-22-58

Caution should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of this source. In those cases where brackets are used to enclose a name or words, the enclosed part is not actually provided by this source but is assumed and inserted for the sake of clarity.

CG 6202-S* on March 24, 1958, provided information reflecting that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, FRED FINE and MORRIS CHILDS were present at CP headquarters, 36 West Randolph, Chicago, Illinois, on March 24, 1958, and engaged in conversation. Their comments are as follows:

FINE said that the Party idea is that no new ideas are to be countenanced. He said ALLEN (phonetic) has never had an original idea and his main role in the last 20 years has been that of kicking others. He read something this individual had written to the effect that a group in the Party is saying the cry of revisionism is being raised by dogmatists in order to prevent any application to problems. But he, the writer, states that time and again it has been shown by comrade BITTLEMAN that opinions like his lead in a revisionist direction.

- 7 - New York (REGISTERED)
- (1 - 100-32826 JAMES' ALLEN) (7-2)
 - (1 - 100-27452 ROBERT THOMPSON) (19-1)
 - (1 - 100-8057 EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
 - ① - 100-56579 PHIL BART
 - (1 - 100-82430 IRVING HERMAN)
 - (1 - 100-54899 LEON WOPSY)
- 9 - Chicago
- (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1 - 100-18001 FRED FINE)
 - (1 - 100-3470 MORRIS CHILDS)
 - (1 - 100-24702 PAT ELLIS)
 - (1 - 100-17769 CP, ILLINOIS, FUNDS)
 - (1 - 100-18209 CP, ILLINOIS, P & P)
 - (1 - 100-12789 GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1 - 100-19431 CP, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

AHC:ntf
 (15)

① 100-CP USA - Factionalism.

100-56579-3280

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 24 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 21 1958	
FBI - CHICAGO	

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CG 100-18963

FINE said this is a sure fire way to guarantee no one looking in any direction.

FINE said that CHILDS should know ALLEN is no "schnook" and a lot of guys including CHILDS, will always be saying "of course there are peculiarities in America, but of course, there should be a new search for creative theory, but".

FINE said PAT (possibly ELLIS) is one who is checking no new ideas. He said you guys know a search for the new must be made and while they saluted with a little lip service, the main attack is against those who are searching. FINE said the group that is to suffer will be people like him. The Ultra-Left knows it won't be suffering because everybody has accepted these hard shelled factionalists. They recognize concessions have been made and they can continue their pressure. The order is "conform" and that was the meaning of BOB THOMPSON's speech about the declining to serve in office. FINE said THOMPSON should have been objective and should have said that in order to carry out the present line two secretaries were dumped, and those elected (would) serve as window dressing.

LIGHTFOOT said he could actually see the possibility of a couple of parties in the United States being revitalized. If this were so, you would still have a strong Communist Party. As a matter of conjecture, with the CP and a strong grouping there could eventually be a campaign for a merger of these two parties with that being the actual result, merger. In the course of transformation, the new organization would become a Marxist-Leninist organization. This is what has occurred in countries like Germany and Poland. He said the Party in this alignment could become the dominant force. LIGHTFOOT said he could even see the possibility of a socialist movement in this country like the British Labor Party. He is cognizant that the British CP has been trying to get into the British Labor Party. He said there is nothing to indicate that if the British CP were admitted to the Labor Party tomorrow, it would become a Marxist-Leninist organization because the relative strength is different there than in Poland and Germany.

LIGHTFOOT said that (EUGENE) DENNIS founded the slogan about a mass party but nobody ever said what it is going to be. All of a sudden, DENNIS throws out his substitute resolution without explaining anything.

LIGHTFOOT said there should be discussion in the Party and a regrouping with a dialectical method of thinking. Mechanical minds aren't dialectical.

CHILDS said the kind of socialist party that might exist in the future is in the realm of speculative investigation, and presently the emphasis must be on building the Party's work.

(LIGHTFOOT and CHILDS then reviewed the history of the CP, beginning with LOVESTONE.)

(As CHILDS was making his remarks, FINE could be heard shouting loudly in another party of the office that nobody was going to foul him up in his life, and then left the office. FINE had apparently been talking with ROBERT THOMPSON about his severance pay.)

(LIGHTFOOT left the office upon the urging of CHILDS to pursue FINE. LIGHTFOOT then returned to the office with ROBERT THOMPSON.)

LIGHTFOOT said FINE felt that about \$1,500 was owed to him. He said he didn't know the concrete situation in the Center right now but a few months ago it was pretty tight.

THOMPSON inquired if there is an org fund here.

LIGHTFOOT said that the org fund which the District has had has more or less taken care of the District's needs. But the org fund goes down every time. It is a situation like the present one in the Party. While "The Worker" and the PAUL ROBESON book have been on the agenda of the State Committee meetings, the discussion on the Party has prevented really coming to grips with these matters.

CHILDS mentioned that up until about a year ago a financial committee was operating.

LIGHTFOOT said that the office has been looking for an office worker for about six months. LIGHTFOOT also commented on the fall off in the distribution of leaflets.

CHILDS said that this does not mean that no leaflets are going out. He mentioned GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT's leaflet on the ROBESON book.

LIGHTFOOT criticized the Party's inability to do things in a timely fashion. At a time when a housing leaflet was being prepared, unemployment had become the major thing particularly from the angle of the coming CIO conference. If the Party had prepared properly for the CIO conference, they would have gotten out a mailing of 10,000 or 15,000 brochures stating the Party's position on this matter. This would lay the basis so that when people come to the conference, they know what the Communists want. LIGHTFOOT said the Party is in the picture, in the conference but it is behind the scenes and nobody knows about it.

LIGHTFOOT criticized the fall offs, or casualties in Party workers. He mentioned PHIL BART, IRVING HERMAN and LEON (WOFSY). WOFSY graduated into the Party from the youth movement. As things stand today there are a lot of people sitting on the outside looking in the meetings, and they get fed up and just walk out. The cadre in terms of full time potential is hurt lately by the inability of the Party to be preoccupied by anything except the Party problem.

LIGHTFOOT said there is a drive against full timers as bureaucrats. He then said how he had looked forward in years past to going into the National YCL office to work. It has been settled except he wasn't allowed to leave Illinois. He said the idea has been that full time functionaries are synonymous with professional revolutionaries and this is something which has never been fully resolved. There are people who have worked full time for 20 or 25 years and then they are accused of being bureaucratic. These things contribute to political discomfort.

4/24/58

PHILIP BART, was.
SM-C, 3A-1940

Interview with PHILIP BART

BART rapidly walked back toward his place of employment and the interview was terminated as he approached a congested area. It was impossible to determine from BARTIS remarks and his attitude whether he implied that he might be willing to talk to the agents if he had the time. In view of this, efforts will be made to recontact BART to clarify his attitude. The Bureau will be advised of the results of such recontact.

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such recontact.
M-56579 - 328

one one

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WKT

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NY (100-56579)

DATE: 5-22-58

FROM : John D. Hayes #8

SUBJECT: Philip BERAL
W.A. Phil BARTb6
b7C

[redacted] INS telephoned at 2:00 p.m.

To ascertain:

- 1) current address of BART
- 2) whether FBI had any objection to INS interview of subject.
- 3) degree of cooperation INS might expect.

After checking with S.A. [redacted] 12-12, I called

[redacted] back and advised him:

- 1) 2415 Humboldt Ave, Brooklyn, NY - address
- 2) FBI had no objection to INS interview.
- 3) probably none.

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[redacted] said that, under the circumstances, INS ~~for~~ wanted not approach BART. [redacted] said that INS wanted to interview him about WILLIAM HEIKKILA, an INS major case at the present - FBI file 100-24617 (SAN F. ORIGIN)

100-56579-3282

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CJ

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DATE: 5/29/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

~~CLASSIFICATION BK 1259 ON 11-30-78~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMA-
TION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND
SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- not in mem p 23
not included*
- 6 - Bureau (100-3-69)(CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-75)(CP, USA-NEGRO QUESTION)
 - (1 - 100-3-72)(CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 - (1 - 100-3-81)(CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
 - (1 - 100-3-88)(CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)
 - 2 - Baltimore (100-) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - 2 - Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - 2 - Cleveland (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (HY LUMER)
 - 1 - Detroit (100-2050)(CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (100-26044)(CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
 - 4 - Newark (100-) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (PAT TOOHEY)
 - (1 - 100-) (DAVE ROCKLIN)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)

(Copies Cont'd on Page 1a)

- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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(60)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 2 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

12-13
100-56579-3283

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NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copies Cont'd

- 3 - San Francisco (100-27747)(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)
(1 - 65-1242)(MICKEY LIMA)
(1 - 100-) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 1 - New York (100-105078)(HY LUMER)
1 - New York (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)
1 - New York (100-87211)(CP, USA-FACTIONALISM)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-32826)(JAMES ALLEN)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-80640)(CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-25623)(ERIC BERT)
1 - New York (100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-20128)(ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN)
1 - New York (100-86624)(CP, USA- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-131666)(CP, USA - SOUTHERN REGION)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-56579)(PHIL BART)
1 - New York (100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-129629)(WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(12-11)
1 - New York (100-79717)(CP, USA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - New York (100-69117)(LIBERAL PARTY)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-93572 (NATIONAL GUARDIAN)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-8522)(COMINFIL, ALP)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-22864)(ADAM CLAYTON POWELL)(12-15)
1 - New York (100-135320)(UNITED SOCIALIST TICKET)(7-3)
1 - New York (100-95722)(HENRY ABRAMS)(7-2)
1 - New York (100-80078)(JOYCE COWLEY)(7-3)
1 - New York (100-133195)(RICHARD DE HAAN)(7-3)
1 - New York (100-20789)(W. E. B. DU BOIS)(12-11)
1 - New York (100-25780)(CORLISS LAMONT)(12-15)
1 - New York (100-) () (7-3)
1 - New York (100-7664)(JOHN T. MC MANUS)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-91923 (OTTO NATHAN)(7-2)
1 - New York (100-90750 (RUSS NIXON)(7-1)
1 - New York (100-9224)(ANNETTE RUBENSTEIN)(12-11)
1 - New York (100-26041)(HOWARD SELSAM)(12-16)
1 - New York (100-132967)(GEORGE STRYKER)(7-2)
1 - New York (100-4013 (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)(7-3)
1 - New York (100-1696)(ELIZABETH FLYNN)(7-5)
1 - New York (100-133902)(CP, USA, ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE
MASS ORGANIZATIONS)(7)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the full National Executive Committee, (NEC) CP, USA, held in New York City, on May 9 and 10, 1958, as reported by NY2179-S*. ~~C~~

A surveillance of CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, by SAS of the FBI determined that the following individuals were observed entering CP Headquarters on indicated dates and were believed in attendance at above meeting: ~~C~~

May 9

EUGENE DENNIS (NEC)
JAMES JACKSON (NEC)
HY LUMER (NEC)
GEORGE MEYERS (NEC)
MICKEY LIMA (NEC)
ROBERT THOMPSON (NEC)
ARNOLD JOHNSON
BEN DAVIS, JR. (NEC)
PAT TOOHEY
BILL ALBERTSON
JACK STACHEL (NEC)
ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN
JIM ALLEN

May 10

DENNIS
JACKSON
LUMER
MEYERS
LIMA
THOMPSON
JOHNSON
DAVIS
TOOHEY
ALBERTSON
STACHEL

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Remarks of HY LUMER

Informant advised that the meeting opened with HY LUMER pointing out that there was a delegation present from Chicago, namely JONNIE ELLIS and JIM HUFFORD (ph), and they have certain arguments they want to raise with the National Office. LUMER stated that "they" appeared here (New York) with PEARL and ALAN LAWS. LUMER said if we reject this (request) outright it might (not be good). However, if "we" hear them we should exclude the New York people and should take it under advisement. ~~X~~

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

"I" do not want to set a precedent (where?) every group sends in delegations. DENNIS commented that he was inclined to have them meet with a subcommittee at the lunch hour. However, I do not want to make an issue. ~~X~~

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

Informant advised that STACHEL commented that they should be given a hearing, even though we know that it is a violation of procedure, and requested that they be given a special procedure. ~~X~~

Remarks of JONNIE ELLIS

Informant advised that ELLIS and HUFFORD then entered the meeting room and ELLIS presented their argument, stating that she wanted an answer from the National Office on whether the South Side Section in Chicago could act as an official body or should they cease to function as was ordered by their state leadership, until a decision was made. ELLIS said that "we" were told that the South Side Section election was to be called off, but that they were unable to find out who made this decision. She indicated that SAM KUSHNER as well as CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) attended their meeting. She indicated that CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) spoke to the South Side Section, saying that their election should be called off, and that there was a vote by the membership, which resulted in favor of elections. As a result they (apparently KUSHNER and LIGHTFOOT) walked out of the meeting. ~~X~~

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ELLIS remarked that one of the staff had asked "them" to remain but were told "You're not telling me anything until you've spent 10 years in jail." (Informant unable to determine whether this comment was made by KUSHNER or LIGHTFOOT). ~~C~~

Continuing, informant advised that ELLIS commented that the election was held, but that CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) said the elections were not valid and that "we" are not in the Party. ELLIS remarked that comrades (apparently in Chicago) took money out of their pockets to send "us" here to find out if "we" will be recognized. "We" did not know that the board (NEC) was meeting. She said this question cannot be left to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT or the others (to decide?). She stated that this (action?) will wipe out the Communist Party on the South Side (of Chicago). ~~C~~

Informant advised that it was the decision of the NEC that they would not discuss any of the problems presented at this time, and ELLIS asked if she was to return to Chicago and tell her comrades that the National Office would not make a decision until they had taken it up with the state (Illinois) leadership. She was told that is correct. ~~C~~

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Informant advised that EUGENE DENNIS then announced the agenda for the meeting as follows: ~~C~~

First a report from JIM ALLEN on the Program Committee with a discussion to follow until approximately 4 o'clock; subsequently some aspects of the Summit Conference and then following adjournment, the ROBESON concert that night. Continuing, informant advised that DENNIS remarked that the meeting on May 10, 1958, would start at 10:30 with a discussion of the Negro question followed by the New York elections, a discussion on California and related questions and then the ROCKEFELLER report. DENNIS commented on the progress made by the Program Committee, which he indicated consisted of 7 persons. He named only JIM (ALLEN) (ERIC) BERT, JIM JACKSON, JACK STACHEL, ALEX (BITTLEMAN) and himself as being on this committee. ~~C~~

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Remarks of JIM ALLEN

Informant advised that ALLEN opened his remarks by explaining that this (report) was an initial report only and all committees thought they should re-examine first the basic concepts of the road to socialism. ALLEN felt that a separate report should be made on the question of peaceful co-existence. He indicated that the key concepts could be broken down into three avenues of examination: ~~C~~

1. Our own concepts of road to socialism.
2. The peaceful transition.
3. The transitional government. ~~C~~

Continuing, ALLEN stated that he was for a better balance in what was common and what was different under the circumstances. He indicated that a more explicit statement with regard to the break with dogmatism is not determined, is not found in the cries of revisionists. In this respect the Chinese Party which has operated within the greatest diversity and has added much --- made a major contribution of the experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat since its inception. He indicated that the Chinese formulae are then considered the common -- the basic -- and mixed all the variety of actual historical experience. They (presented?) the situation between the common world and the concrete rational pacifists that should give a dynamic lift. ~~C~~

Continuing, ALLEN remarked that we must reject the idea that this declaration is a condition of the basic approach of the 20th Congress --. What it does is state the ratio between the common road and the different form. He remarked that that is why GATES (JOHN GATES) claimed ^{it} was a step backward. He indicated that the goal is not the specific forms of socialism that has developed according to their condition and needs (as?) the Soviet Union or China, but within that specific development in our formula, the same essential characteristics of a Socialist society are contained in it. There are all kinds of concepts of socialism, for example in the book on socialism, which includes some excellent contributions, one will find a

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preponderance of the prime factors in the evolution of socialism common to our whole socialist movement, as well as a new revisionism modeled after JOHN STRACHEY (ph), such as post office socialism, municipal socialism, public ownership, public authorityship, socialism by constitutional law, as well as new diversions of the so called socialist elements of true capitalism growing into socialism, like a mound. ~~X~~

ALLEN then referred to certain central elements of socialism as a situation in society, such as a government led by the working classes, by a vanguard party, by the Negro people, the farmers and various (social?) classes, which he indicated would directly be a development of the people, by the people and for the people. He indicated that the first element is the working class element as being indispensable for socialism. He commented instead of a government led by capitalists, (it would be) a government by the people. This is the distinctive political task of where capitalism exists today. Experience has also shown that before the working class can assume the role to lead ^{it needs} a vanguard party, guided by Marxism-Leninism principles. This is quite apart from the possibility that there may be many other political parties participating that represent the interests of specific classes and strata. As we shall see later, the revolutionary Marxists have modified their view. This modification has nothing in common with the reformist concept of the state as an institution above society. The new phases of revisionism denied the validity-- -- whether the present government of socialist countries are governments of the working class at all. ~~X~~

Continuing, ALLEN stated that proper ownership of the basic means of production makes possible production for use instead of for profit. The second element is basically a structural change in the structure of society as brought about by socialism. The effect of such structure is a valuable factor depending upon the specific correlation of forces. Small scale production, small business, trades and services and privately owned family sized farms, for example, will continue for sometime after the nationalization. Here again, we can distinguish between public ownership and the workers' conception of the real social type of ownership. ~~X~~

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In this country, we have many forms of municipal ownership of public utilities and also general ownership (such as?) power dams, arsenals and atomic energy industry. ~~C~~

According to this idea, no class struggle is essential, no vanguard party, no change. It is true that socialism is already born within capitalism. It is in contradiction that all the restraints of capitalism are to be thrown off ---. We do not discuss the plight of various forms of public ownership and government control, but under specific conditions -- such as the struggles of the masses..... ~~C~~

The third element stresses the fact that for the first time in the United States it will be possible for us to merge in coalition with economic forces ---. But the essential characteristics of capitalism is its anarchy. The sharp contradictions that generate economic crisis and the dangers of wars..... ~~C~~

According to the informant, ALLEN then discussed the defense of a socialist society against the sabotage of unreconstructed capitalism. He commented that this fourth element by definition allows for the necessary function of suppressing counter-revolutionary attempts, the danger of which is always present, this will show when social revolution occurs. A program of social democracy will have to be developed --, a question of minority groups will have to be developed. ALLEN commented that this is really an introduction to the elements of the subject --, the development of the road to socialism. He indicated that the British Communist Party would have to do something and that greater unity must be achieved among the socialist groups. He then referred to the preamble of the Party constitution, adding that we have as our aim a peaceful and democratic road to socialism. The peaceful road to socialism must be developed through the democratic process. ALLEN then asked what do we mean by the concept "a peaceful democratic way to socialism." He answered his own question by remarking, concerning the development of the constitutional process: ~~C~~

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1. a clear cut application of the working class interest....
2. a struggle required here and now is to establish a safeguard -- prerequisite to a peaceful condition. This will provide the present and coming condition to the road to socialism. ~~&~~

The trend of the capitalist is to monopolize society and to militarize. It has as its concept stifling that privilege which is so necessary to the working class people ---. Peaceful transition is a revolutionary path --. The peaceful transition to socialism requires revolutionary Marxist theory--. The Communist considers a civil war (not?) the only way to a new society;--. The peaceful transition to socialism depends on the correlation of forces - the parliamentary road is seen in international discussions. ~~&~~

Continuing, informant advised that ALLEN then referred to TOGLIATTI (possibly PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, Italian CP leader) who argues --- experience proves to follow the road to legality -- all roads (lead?) to socialism -- therefore all democratic struggles are not necessarily peaceful.... ALLEN remarked that given this type of source, there are opportunists who favor compromise with capitalism --- transform parliament from an instrument serving the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people. The change involves a revolution in personnel as well as structural changes in the state.--. After taking steps to change the parliamentary form, it will also be necessary to make non-parliamentary changes. ~~&~~

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The peace program arises from a concept of the transitional government. We have had the idea of such a government defined as an anti-monopoly coalition government led by left wing....which will operate a program aimed at limiting the power of the monopolists extending social legislation on behalf of trade unions, extending and defending....rights of democratic (liberties?) and safeguarding peaceful coexistence. This will not yet be a socialist government, but will open the way to socialism and will, therefore, be transitional. ~~C~~

We should retain this concept, but it needs to be elaborated further, particularly with respect to the development of a program....and to make sure of the alliances and political formations that are required for the attainment of such a transitional government to socialism. The nature of theoretical problems is to define....in terms of a continuous movement towards socialism. If we try to question in terms of the stage of social development, a government corresponding to some form of society between capitalism and socialism, we will make serious mistakes. It is here that we tend to compromise and stumble....that the party fights in terms of a stage of socialism rather than corresponding to some form of society..... ~~C~~

We should view an anti-monopoly form of government as a high point in the political struggle for socialism and not as a stage of society. It is a culmination of the stage of the struggle against monopoly, a struggle basically democratic in character, and at the same time, opens the road to socialism. At its full development, such a transitional government would be led by the working class....which would already have socialism as their common goal in spite of a possible multiplicity of political programs. If we view the matter this way, the transitional government does not become a substitute in the struggle for socialism, but a major and decisive step. ~~C~~

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It provides not a final goal, but a way-station where the people's forces can be gathered in an advanced stage of readiness for the transition to socialism. We would then have established democratic procedures improved as the people see fit. At this advanced stage of the struggle, the people have already ousted the monopolists from political power and have themselves taken over the government. The government remains transitional just as long as it may take within the given relation of forces, for the working class to emerge as the leading governing force....for then it would be ready to begin the transition to socialism. ~~&~~

This does not necessarily mean that the transitional government will be reached in one long trek or that once there, the leap ahead will be taken immediately or at top speed. There may be a number of way-stations along the road before the major gathering place is reached. A series of advances which will be expressed politically in governments of changing class composition before a full-fledged anti-monopoly government is gained. ~~&~~

Coalition governments may appear in various forms with different arrays of parties, and with a different relation to class forces within the coalition. Perhaps there will have to be a number of coalition governments before the working class emerges superior as a leading force for socialism, and the tempo with which such a government will initiate socialism would necessarily depend upon numerous factors. ~~&~~

At present, beyond establishing a general.... our concern is not with a lot of things. We must direct our attention to what is required to build up a people's anti-monopoly coalition on the basis of the issues....and of the struggles that are going on today. A similar perspective has also been raised by various parties, each party in terms of suiting its own country. We have already

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seen that in concept of the parliamentary road developed by the twelve party.....some such type of transitional development is not excluded although, as is only correct, it is not presented as a necessity for transitional government. ~~X~~

The British party, for example, in its new program does not seem to envision any transitional government perhaps correctly for Britain, in view of the role of the labor government of the past and the level of socialist awareness in that country. Instead, they seek a Labor-Communist majority in parliament with a similar cabinet setting out immediately to achieve socialist aims. Among the....parties which in this period have very seriously pursued a transitional type of government, are the Italian and the Indian (Governments?). We hope soon to have the documents of the Indian party congress which we will certainly inspect. In the meantime, let me single out some of the questions which have been discussed at length by the Italians and which I think throw some light on our problems precisely because.... are much closer to the question. Needless to say, I am not advocating for America the Italian....but merely that we thoroughly examine some of their propositions and see if they can be construed to us. ~~X~~

The Italians propose a People's Democratic Government as a transitional government on the road to socialism. In component pragmatic contents of this concept, (there?) are two: 1) structural reform, and 2) democratic legality? Both are seen as the product of constant mass struggle of the party or a vanguard.... ~~X~~

The twelve party program owes a great deal to the initiative of the Italian party. Here I want to direct attention to their concept of structural reform....to separate what may be good from the bad for us. Structural reforms that you will find in Communist Italy are not socialist, but they represent the transformation

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of the economic structure which paves the way for the advanced forces. In other words, the structural reforms they advocate correspond to the fight for a people's.....constitutes a transitional program. By structural reform, they have in mind essentially a general land reform and a steady infiltration of the workers....industry and the nationalization or democratic control of monopolies. ~~&~~

In the West, the only kind of land reform under present circumstances that would involve structural (changes?) applies to the South, and this we have in store and must pursue...along our own lines. Under the concept of the labor economy?, the Italian Congress will also develop the idea that the trade unions should advocate structural reforms in the management of the industries..... Under our conditions, it might well be worth exploring the idea along the lines of labor's intervention in policies of industrial management. Particularly with respect to guarantees of employment, the utilization of automatic and other new machinery. ~~&~~

We have to examine these questions carefully so we can develop in our program, in order to go beyond the present trade union program. Looking toward an anti-monopoly type coalition which would not have the effect of diverting the workers in the struggle..... ~~&~~

Although we have come up with some elements of good, we have not solved the basic problem of an anti-monopoly program which would be economic as well as political, which would serve as a basis for alliance with the labor movement and the various middle class strata affected by monopoly. ~~&~~

Here I want to call attention to two elements of the Italian approach. 1) democratic control over monopolies, and 2) the concept of dismantling certain backward and pernicious aspects of the monopoly struggle. We all know that this idea of dismantling monopolies underlies the philosophy of the anti-trust laws and

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was even tried on a big scale in Germany and Japan after the war. But despite all the dismantling, monopoly power has grown and has been restored in Germany and Japan. Are we, therefore, to take the position that nothing can be done as long as capital exists, to protect the people from wholesale robbery by monopoly. I think it would be a mistake to forego the defense of the interests of the very extensive middle strata if we adopted a negative viewpoint on this problem. The merit of the Italian position is that they see the possibility of such reforms in the interests of the people, in the context of the continuous mass struggle imposing new signs of reforms upon the state.

I think, especially for us, the idea of democratic control including nationalization..... is pertinent, but it must be approached with caution. The proposition involves a distinction between what is permanent in the structure of monopoly and what is transitory. In other words....cannot be changed in the present system and these....may not want to change.....

Continuing, informant advised that ALLEN stated that he had hoped that he had supplied a base from which we can formulate a clear, inseparable position. ALLEN then referred to the participation of various individuals in order to obtain a program. He said that discussion has to be directed towards specific pragmatic questions presented at the outset. He said that there should be a sort of a step by step procedure in the preparation. He indicated that the first step would be ways to produce thinking and study in order to achieve results. He said that he had just begun to grapple with the problem, but that the idea expressed (apparently by the committee) that they should be divided up into the following categories:

1. The unsolved problems of our society from which we have four or five central questions

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2. United States world position in the fight for peace.
3. The section devoted to end poverty.
4. The cultural step dealing with the mass media, education, sciences, and the arts and related matters.
5. Democracy and the State.
6. Monopolies.
7. Labor and its allies. ALLEN indicated that this would include the Negro people, farmers, and the middle staff?
8. The sphere of political action...United Fronts and so on.
9. Transition to socialism and the potentials of socialism in the United States.
10. The role of the party.

Continuing, ALLEN indicated that from this they would have to develop an analytical outline. He also commented that as material becomes available, which has enough quality and substance for publication, that could be done. He stated that the program discussion section would be under the supervision of the program committee or any designated subcommittee. He said that as a step towards classification of questions, three specific discussions have been proposed and could be summarized as: ~~C~~

1. On peaceful co-existence and United States world policy.
2. On the impact of the program.
3. Our own problems....struggles, tactics, and so forth.

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He stated that it is also the opinion of "your committee" that there should be organized a national program committee. That is, to have a national program committee which would have the function of passing on the various aspects of the program and the substance of the program would have to be processed through the established channels. ~~X~~

(On May 20, 1958, NY 694-S* furnished a copy of a report entitled, "INITIAL REPORT ON BASIC PROGRAM" described parenthetically as A Report of JAMES S. ALLEN For the Initiating Committee on Program to the NEC, May 9, 1958. This appears to be an edited transcript of ALLEN's report to the NEC and was furnished to the Bureau, May 20, 1958, by letter captioned, "CP, USA-INTERNATIONAL SITUATIONS"). ~~X~~

Informant advised that following ALLEN's speech, EUGENE DENNIS stated that the suggestion has been made that there be a fifteen minute time limit for discussion. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN

Informant advised that BITTLEMAN spoke, but that informant was not in a position to determine in detail his comments. BITTLEMAN apparently stated that he wished to introduce several questions for study. He enumerated them as follows: ~~X~~

1. What is the nature of the new stage of the general crises of the (whole system?) of (capitalism?) that is being ushered in... by the period of peaceful co-existence and competition? ~~X~~

2. Is the period of peaceful co-existence and competition (compatible?) with the continued existence and further development of capitalism in the United States? ~~X~~

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3. Is it true that the (unfolding?) of the economic competition of the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union, constitutes a threat to the economic well-being and security of the American people as is maintained by prominent spokesmen...? ~~X~~

4. Are American Communists....in favor of the success of their own country in the economic competition? ~~X~~

5. Is the period of peaceful co-existence and competition (incompatible?) with the continued existence and further development of (classes?) in the United States?.... ~~X~~

6. Is the idea of peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism in the United States only a wish, a hope, an expectation (or?) is it a theoretical and pragmatic proposition...? ~~X~~

7. If the idea of peaceful transition is a pragmatic proposition, based on (objectivist?) possibilities, why.....struggle for the mere negation of this problem? ~~X~~

8. Relating to the (emerging?) period to peaceful co-existence and competition, can the CP, USA exercise its vanguard role in the same way as the CP of France or (Italy?)? Can we have the same relations with the labor movement in this period as those parties have, with a socialist ideology brought into the American working class in the same way as in France and Italy? If not, is there a special American way in which the vanguard must seek to bring a social ideology into the American working class....? ~~X~~

9. Informant advised that BITTLEMAN then commented on the eventual rise of a mass party of socialism in the United States, based on teachings of MARX and LENIN. He then asked what the program was going to say about the role of the CP, USA in realizing this (objective?). ~~X~~

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Remarks of an Individual Believed
To Be GEORGE MEYERS

As for the outline presented "I" think we will run into the same problems we ran into before, so much so I think that comrades will be overwhelmed. I know a number of comrades who feel that they just can not tackle it on some of the questions presented. "I" feel that our program has to deal concretely with the question of a socialist America and what it would mean. Just what socialism is because during the past number of years I do not think the American people really understood just what is meant by socialism. Too many people think it means that the government will run everything, tell you what to do and so forth. X

The second thing is, how we can get socialism in America -- strikes for instance, seems that every time there are strikes, picket lines, some how on the same page they always try to put in something about Communists. This association of force and violence and the Communist Party. What I am getting at - I think we have to develop much more thoroughly the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. I remember when this was first discussed how comrades had guilty feelings that some how they were going back on old principles of Marxist Party by even talking - - - the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. I don't think this has been thoroughly discussed in the Party so that we can really do something with it, the idea of exploiting of democracy, the labor movement and Negro people. X

I realize the labor movement -- when the question of socialism is on the agenda, the American working class will be strong enough to defend itself against accusations by the ruling class. This is something to realize, and present to our own Party and the working class. At the same time, "knock in the head" some of this idea that we can migrate into socialism without the working class playing a role. In other words, the ruling class is not going to permit peaceful transition I think we have to work out very consistently and not in a apologetic manner this question of peaceful transition to socialism. I am a little worried about this question of transition of government because I think that that itself will develop as the working class really grasps the idea of socialism and necessarily how to bring it into existence. X

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Remarks of BEN DAVIS

It was a very long report, a comprehensive and positive report. It is very good that the NEC is looking into the American road to socialism. "I" would like a more detailed examination of various aspects of this point. One thing that I think is fundamental and that is the American road to socialism. Now, you may disagree with this or that phase of the question of transition of government. I think it is somewhat incumbent -- to teach us how to develop it ourselves, and also the point on the question of the basic economic forces. But I think the qualities, the criticisms, including the one made by BITTLEMAN must be placed within the framework of the general contribution that took place in JIM's (ALLEN) report. ~~X~~

Now what "we" want is an American road to socialism. We don't want an American road to some intermediate stage to socialism. We do not want a road to a welfare state. We want a road to socialism. This is extremely important. First this is a weak spot in the ideological perspective of the Communist Party, the American road to socialism. When we look over the propositions and difficulties facing the Party at this time, we must also consider the American road to socialism in light of what has happened to the Party. Some who have left the Party and some who are in the Party have lost their idea, their confidence and their faith in the goal of socialism. When the group in the Party, which I consider not a group in the Party, but representing the majority of Party and the majority of the Party leadership, wants to develop a program for socialism in America. A goal, a path not a blueprint not a proposition, but a path, a guide, a perspective to socialism. ~~X~~

Now this is what I consider a Leninist task, and where we are weak in my opinion is not coming forward with the concrete. This is where ALLEN's report makes a positive contribution - how can you get there, the basic perspective of the Party on socialism. This is of primary importance because of revisionism in the Party and especially by forces who have left the Party, who have no goal for socialism - if they have, they have not come forward. Like each member of a symphony getting out of the orchestra until you have left only the conductor. ~~X~~

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We have an ultra left in the Party, which has no perspective except the perspective of dogmatism. That is its ideological roots. I think JIM (ALLEN) handled that quite properly, that we must battle against the revisionist except without re-establishing dogmatism or sectarianism in the Party. In other words, what we want is a Party position. The Party perspective on the American road to socialism must be a rejection of GATES' perspective. Now BITTLEMAN has a perspective. BITTLEMAN's perspective is a kind of welfare state, which is not a state of society but a capitalist society. "We" want a perspective of socialism, not of a welfare state. We want a basic Party perspective to socialism which encompasses the various stages of the American working class and its struggle in the quest for peace and socialism. ~~X~~

Now what does BITTLEMAN mean about a radical change in United States socialism? "I" do not know what he means, by the next radical change, but I do know what we are after now is the American road to socialism in the American road to the next radical change. ~~X~~

I think there has to be a line drawn and I think it has to be the perspective to socialism, with all of the weaknesses, modifications and adjustments of JIM's report and a rejection of BITTLEMAN's proposition of a welfare state. We are talking about different social circles. This raises another question. Are American Communists in favor of the cessation of this country to the proposition of socialism? "I" can tell the American people anytime that I am in favor of this country overtaking the pack and leading the path in the world but I have to tell them also that unless you have socialism you are not even in the race. If I don't tell them that, it's a question of my just supporting American superiority over the Soviet Union and socialist countries on the basis of what exists in America today. Then what in the hell do I need a Communist Party for. There is no need for one. If you do not want socialism, you do not need a Communist Party. ~~X~~

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Where BITTLEMAN is confusing to me, where he speaks about the profound new things, profound social reforms -- we have seen some of them taking place now, such as the basic political gains of the Negro people. This is very profound. That comes within the context of the whole program of perspective to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution. I do not like to pose that against the old question of the American road to socialism. On the contrary, I feel that the path chosen by the Negro people, the development and upsurge of the Negro people in the south today, is securing from the Supreme Court of the United States, certain basic changes in their whole status. I do not mean to say the Negro people are not the victim of mass oppression down there, I don't say that but this has a profound meaning for the whole role -- of America. ~~C~~

As for this word peaceful road to socialism, I am for really putting a quietus on this, not that we shouldn't use it but this is not the basic thing. The basic thing is in my opinion the parliamentary road to socialism. Because the Negro people in the south -- what are they doing, they are making leaping and hurdling democratic gains in the south by virtue of a change in the relationship of a force, which forces the Supreme Court and American capitalism to make certain decisions on intergration and segregation. But God, we can't say it was without violence. You can't say it has been peaceful. As a matter of fact the President of the United States had a chance to really do something but nothing happened. So what we have to do is have a parliamentary transition to socialism in which we can use the powers of the bourgeois state to preserve a path to socialism and it ain't gonna be just peaceful -- it gonna be maybe bloody, it may be violent depending upon the quantity and weight of that violence depending upon a number of such things. So my opinion is that there is a clear line of demarcation between the perspective with all its limitation presented to us by JIM (ALLEN) which I think is essentially sound and the perspective of BITTLEMAN which I considered much more along the "(rabblest?)" line than the kind of basic perspective given by JIM. ~~C~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~REMARKS OF ROBERT THOMPSON

At the outset I would like to say that I think the report, the working papers, should be put into written form as quickly as possible. It is going to do a great deal to cultivate the atmosphere in the Party. "I" still want to say a word on the question of transitional government and anti-monopoly coalition. "I" think one of the proudest elements in our outlook up to this time has been the development of an anti-monopoly coalition and alliance.

BEN (DAVIS?) "I" think makes a point particularly here in the United States that the fight for a united monopoly coalition, the fight for power by such a coalition and the fight to maintain such a coalition government in power, after it does get in, is going to be anything but an easy struggle in this country. The Spanish had a revolution against a popular government, but this is not what we are referring to when we speak of a peaceful transition. Oh, we know there is a great danger, if not properly handled, illusions can be created by an improper understanding of what is meant by a peaceful transition.

What "we" mean by peaceful transition as I understand it is that the actual process of the assumption of state power is not done through a revolt or uprising against the state power, but is done through the process of manifold struggle, including parliamentary form which results in the formation of the organs of state power from the ruling class to one completely dominated by the working class with its allies. Now, that process may involve big demonstrations, it may involve great strike struggles, it may involve struggles in the South, but the actual process of the function of the state power by the working class is not in the form of violent uprising but rather in the form... the power the state used against the ruling class, and increasingly used to contain the violence of the working class rather than -- of that class.

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Example of that was Spain where state powers were used against the working class and where unquestionably, in my opinion, there has not been some "redigression?" from our Party. There are many other points that we are attempting to speak on. I would like to pass the report in written form to propose to the comrades. Just one last thing - the weakness of the present comrades. It is a weakness which can include a part of the national Communist group, but one that we have been trying to do something on as rapidly as possible, and that is the examination of the American social scene from the point of view of analysis, of the changes that have taken place in the relationship between classes over this last period, so that the very important theoretical questions which we are to do now can very soon become related directly to a deepening of understanding of what the national situation is. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

I recall that ALEX (BITTLEMAN?) said first one and one-third of the comrades? would depart?. It certainly does not place him in the category of those who challenge the fundamentals. I think that the best paying work of the program is that we can afford critical guests? to be tolerant. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF UNKNOWN MALE

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated that he agreed to most of JIM's (ALLEN) report. "I" think that one of the positive phases of JIM's report (is) that he doesn't get all the answers, but he quotes his questions and at least gives some answers of how we should approach (the problem?). ~~X~~

"We" cannot separate the question of a struggle from a program of socialism from the immediate struggle of peace. I am certainly in favor of sending out material in the work of JIM's (report) in the name of the committee. I

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think that we should start and it would be not merely the part of the committee but a part of the Party as whole. From that point of view, in my opinion, what ALEX (BITTLEMAN) thought, it is all important. I want the United States to be first, but I only want a socialist United States to be first. ~~X~~

The other concrete thing that we have to confront in the United States today is the economic situation. The country needs labor?. We should have a program to work out of the crisis. JIM (ALLEN) read his book (possibly a book by BITTLEMAN). I also read it. I say, therefore, that I don't think ALEX should have such a negative attitude to the report that JIM made. I think that as long as we go places, we should proceed along these lines, separate the goats from the sheep, so to speak, those who are for or against the Party, and those who are for or against Soviet (legality?) as it exists. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF JIM JACKSON

Just a very brief comment. The work of the program (committee) is off to a good launching, the report of the program here. The report presents the scope of the task before the body and introduces this program. It indicates the breadth and the scope and the dimensions of it. Now, our common fault is the emphasis in the declaration of the 12 Party (Statement?) on profound reforms which we presume ---. Furthermore, in my opinion, ALEX (BITTLEMAN) is not correct, is minimizing the meaning, the emphasis on general principles. JACKSON indicated that to assume that all forces in the Party have sufficient understanding of socialism and of the general principles is unsound. ~~X~~

ALLEN's approach was to elaborate the general principles on which we base our projections, that is general policy --. Our program has to be positive in context of the socially contrary program which cannot be abstract. ~~X~~

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Subsequently, reports and surveys will be produced and will analyze the American economy and our state structure. The work in the South is not adequate for the purposes we want to accomplish. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF AN INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO
BE HY LUMER

There are problems and questions that are quite involved, and this gives us the basis for discussing the question. I do think we have the problem of bringing something to the Party out of this discussion. Now "I" cannot agree with the first part of JIM's report, a question of peaceful parliamentary path to socialism. LUMER indicated that they must go back and restate their conception of socialism. "I" think it is of tremendous value to go back to what we mean by socialism. I figure it is important also because of what is happening in the current period that we take a look at what people like BART (possibly PHIL BART) and others present as their concept of socialism. There has developed a concept of economy which some people call a waste economy and the other label is socialist economy. You may remember CLARK (JOE CLARK) in his famous article in "The Worker" on socialism. We have to have an understanding first of all, of what it (socialism) is. ~~X~~

Now JIM (ALLEN), in the report, does take a different, a basically different line, but we have a discussion here... and such differences exist, not personal differences, but differences of approach. Now, in this connection, "I" think ALEX (BITTLEMAN) is being a little unfair when he advises he has no way of presenting his position because the fact is there is no one in this room whose position is as clearly known to the entire Party as ALEX' (position). There is a series of articles in "The Worker". There was an article in "Political Affairs." ~~X~~

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Informant advised that LUMER also commented concerning the economy growth in relation to labor, and stated that what "we" need here is not discussion or debate, but actually labor, getting out and getting an analysis. "We" know our people at headquarters are busy people, and they have jobs and other responsibilities. The main problem and the main job is to accomplish a Party program. I think that certain fundamental concepts have to be established. But any ideas that are obviously becoming prevalent, "I" think we have to be conscious in terms of how we try to do this, so that it is not approached from the standpoint that we are going to fight for what is common over here. But we (must?) begin to think in terms of how to integrate these basic concepts within the framework of American reality. ~~C~~

"I" think we ought to proceed to open up this discussion. This ought to get it into the hands of the National Committee, and it will lead to a very fruitful discussion at our next National Committee meeting. ~~C~~

Informant advised that LUMER indicated that certain problems will arise when they try to develop what is meant by these concepts. He stated that he remembered some of the things that were in the Chinese article which they printed after the KHRUSHCHEV report -- differences with STALIN on the question of what was the tactical line of the Chinese Party. This is pretty much what the question was for China, and they had a prolonged struggle in the Party against dogmatism and against STALIN's concept that the main fire in their country had to be directed against the capitalist system as such. They suffered very serious setbacks because their tactical line was incorrect, united front tactics were wrong. Finally, they changed their tactical line and they decided the main fire had to be directed against the capitalists, the ones involved with imperialism, and that within the framework of the united front tactics they found room for the entire Chinese people. They took as their next stage, not the establishment of socialism, but the defeat of feudalism in

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China, setting up what they call a democratic dictatorship because they could not even talk about a dictatorship of the proletariat for a period of time. They had to get rid of feudalism. They had to lay a basis for capitalism in the first stage, and they had to proceed from that to laying a basis for socialism, and it has been only recently that they talked about what could be considered a dictatorship of the proletariat, in the sense that they had to have as an essential element of it, the building of a socialist economy to replace the other stages which they had before. ~~&~~

Another question now may be what -- for our country. We already have state socialism, and the next stage in the historical development is going to be the establishment of socialism, and in that sense I would agree with him. We have capitalism therefore -- we will have socialism. If that is what they are talking about, I could agree with it. If what we are talking about is what is going to be the next stage in the development in the working class movement in this country, then I cannot agree with them... ~~&~~

LUMER indicated that the labor movement in this country is going to have to go through some essential stages before it gets to the point where we can see the labor movement having a stage of class consciousness and the need for the development of a socialist economy. ~~&~~

I think this concept of the possibility of peaceful transition could be something more than simply the question of being able to utilize parliamentary forms. I think it has to do with the dynamics of the whole class relationship in the development on a world scale, as well as internally in these countries... ~~&~~

Now, I noticed an article by a guy who criticized BITTLEMAN and SCHNEIDERMAN (possibly WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN). He had an article -- had to do with the question of the Convention, writing about how this would apply to France and

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so forth. He dealt in terms of the class relationship and in terms of relations of the Party to other working class groups, such as the Socialist Party, the trade union movement, and so forth, and not simply in terms of parliamentary transition and parliamentary roads. I think that this concept, as well as the concept of peaceful co-existence has to be dug into a great deal more. ~~X~~

"I" think that in regard to the presentation of material, it would be better to write an article in Trends? rather than in reference to CLARK (JOE CLARK) for example. I think we ought to feel this in terms of ideological trends rather than relating to individuals, unless the individual happens to be important enough to be dealt with on a national scale. ~~X~~

REMARKS OF EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS indicated that it would be necessary to look into the report and to stress certain fundamentals, and said they must come to a fundamental understanding of an approach. I should like to say in the submission of material, it would be advisable to deal with the position of the Party since 1948. (?) ~~X~~

In respect to peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition to socialism, I do not think it is sufficient to say that the only matter is the choice ---. This question can only be dealt with and understood and have meaning in relation to new relationships and developments -- within particular countries. ~~X~~

Informant advised that DENNIS then spoke on the question of a transition which he characterized as an enormously important question, and that they have to recognize that "we" made a big mistake several decades ago. ~~X~~

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DENNIS then referred to this coalition resulting from labor's independent political action, and added that "we" should be practical and make the observation that Congress, State Legislatures and the Federal Government can and will emerge resting upon such a coalition, led by labor and the nature of their program. The role they play will be in the first place determined by the relation of forces not only in the country as a whole but in the working class -- a leading role. &

On the questioned advisability that the report should be mimeographed for the program committee, for the National Committee, and its circulation not limited, certainly, comrades like to be advised, and should be advised on the work of various phases and features of the program. I think after some exchange of opinion, a very substantial portion of the report should be published anonymously. But I do not think in terms of the next round of discussions in the National Committee. The report should be mimeographed for members of the National Committee. Informant advised that an unidentified male then interrupted, and asked whether the idea is that nothing should be published? Informant advised that there was some discussion as to whether the report should be printed and in what publication, some naming "Party Affairs" and others commenting that it logically belongs in "Political Affairs." &

REMARKS OF BEN DAVIS

DAVIS indicated that other media might be used, commenting that whatever we discussed in a formal report should be made available to the Party membership as a whole, and "we" should have that as a standard rule with the understanding there would be exceptions. DAVIS also commented that a resident program committee should be formed. &

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~REMARKS OF EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS proposed that a program committee of approximately 16 members, which would consist of people from the National Executive Committee and from other leading comrades, leaving the way open to adding of other members. This proposal was approved, and JIM (ALLEN) was elected Secretary of the Committee. DENNIS commented that it would be a working committee, that there would possibly be additions, and certainly this committee will report by Labor Day. ~~C~~

Informant advised that the meeting adjourned at this point with the understanding that it would reconvene the following morning about an hour earlier. DENNIS stated that the meeting on May 10, 1958, will start with JIM's (JACKSON) report. ~~C~~

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SECOND DAY SESSION 5/10/58

The Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

The meeting opened with the report of JAMES JACKSON on the Negro question. ~~C~~

JACKSON said that it was his desire to achieve a meeting of minds and agreement on the approach to the development of the theory of the Negro question in the United States. He suggested that he should be given the responsibility of fully proceeding on the lines that "I" will advance here. He said that for full treatment of the Party's position on the Negro question, an outline such as the following would have to be elaborated, but this would require something of a small book . . . a topical outline such as the following: ~~C~~

1. Theory of the Negro question in the United States - established class structure of the Negro people.
2. Program defined in treatments of objectives. ~~C~~
3. The strategy of the Negro people.
4. Tactics of the Negro people.
5. Relationships of Negro rights cause to general interests of contemporary national and world politics. ~~C~~
6. Communist Party - place and task in the leadership of the cause of the Negro freedom. ~~C~~

JACKSON continued that it seemed to him that such a topical outline gives the necessary comprehensive outline for an immediate Party work on the Negro question in the United States. He stated that obviously, "we" won't accomplish all these objectives here but "I" want to feel that these should be the objectives dealing with the Negro question. JACKSON said that it was necessary to appreciate the scope

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of the national question and that Marxism on the national question is concerned with the liberation of the oppressed nation and the relationship of that cause to the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism on a world scale. He continued that this does not exhaust the scope of the national question in that the national question exists in a different variety of forms. He said that in the national question there is included not merely the question of nations but the question of national origins, national and ethnic groups, religious groups, etc. He said that Marxism provides a guide to characterization and development of each of these manifestations of the national question. ~~X~~

JACKSON continued stating that the particular national question must be reviewed in the context of its outside relationship to the historical primary social force. As an example, he stated that the Negro question in the United States cannot be divorced from its social, historical origin. He said "we" incorrectly selected universal valid Marxist principles of self-determination for preservation as the primary category into which we sought to profess the Negro question in the United States. He remarked that the main thing in the life as well as the history of the Negro people in the United States includes the integral features and experiences, common history, and common aspirations of these people to secure full rights and privileges of the American nation. ~~X~~

JACKSON stated that no problem can be presented with limitation to a particular nation but must be considered from the standpoint of historical world aspects. He said that the first law of Marxism is that man seeks to establish first only that which he can achieve. He continued that the solution to the Negro problem is in the working class problem. He proposed the question that if the Negro people

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are not a nation then how does one characterize their status in the United States. He answered by stating that the Negro people in the United States suffer a special form of national oppressism, national in the sense that all class problems of the Negro people are subject to common local oppression and social ostracism. He said the Negro people are therefore socially identified and set apart by races, laws and customs. He said this also held true because of their common social interests and actual ethnic education. JACKSON spoke of the concentration of Negro population in certain area of the country and said that this was of great importance in the political struggle and cultural development of the Negro people. ~~X~~

JACKSON then discussed the factors operating against the Negroes in the South observing that (1) they were attached to the land as sharecroppers and (2) barriers erected against Negro integration in economic, political, and social life, that prevailed in the country. He said that the demand of industrialization, the development of mechanization, the technology of agriculture and like factors, moved the population from the countryside into the city. He said that this process considerably swamped the areas of the Negro majority in the South. It furthered the distribution of the Negro population at the expense of the stable community or a common purpose. He continued that today there remains in the old area of Negro majority some five million Negroes of whom less than forty per cent are economically attached to the land. He remarked that "2/3 of the Negro people, however, make their homes in the South". He also stated that the decisive role in the solution of the Negro question falls to the working class. ~~X~~

After a discussion of the historical developments of the Negro problem, JACKSON concluded that the Party has stressed in the past "the land question," that is, how the

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Negroes could secure land for themselves and how to break up the land monopolies. He said that this has no meaning today because the majority of Negroes are no longer attached to the land. ~~C~~

JACKSON noted that the changes in economic structure meant urbanization and the solution must be worked out in terms of the struggle against "industrial monopoly". He noted that less than five million Negroes are found to have any relationship to the land, and that vast changes have taken place in the class structure of the Negro people. ~~C~~

Following JACKSON's report there was a question and answer session which dealt generally with statistical information concerning the Negro. ~~C~~

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS opened the general discussion of JACKSON's report. He said that the direction of the report "is" basically sound. He added that the problem could be divided into three parts: (1) theoretical, (2) the current situation of the Negro and (3) the Party's (role). He pointed out that among those interested in the Negro problem "You have the NAACP program which tends to fight for integration through non-mass action". DAVIS noted that the Party made some useful changes but did not go far enough. He said the Party has to get a perspective for a complete social, economic, political equality for the Negro people. ~~C~~

Remarks of MICKY LIMA

LIMA spoke of the industrialization which had taken place in the South and said that this undoubtedly had a big impact on the emergence of the "school issue" as a major political issue. In describing what he termed the essence

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of the National question in regard to the Negro, he said that in other words it is a question of a class and a class relationship to the needs of production, and this still remains the essential element which differentiates the Negro people in this country from any other national group in this country . . . "The Irish, the Jew or what have you". In describing how this came about, LIMA said that a situation developed after the Civil War where slavery as such was defeated but the sharecrop system was imposed. He continued that the imposition of this "distorted" sharecrop system which in essence provides a "peasantry" relationship to the needs of production on the part of the Negro people still remains and has been the basis of the tremendous exploitation of the Negro people. He said that the sharecrop system undoubtedly still remains a tremendous source of profit and revenue for big business in this country even though it is on the decline. He said that the fact remains that from the standpoint of secret exploitations and secret profits, the kind of low capital investment which is involved in the sharecrop system still remains a tremendously profitable enterprise as far as the land owners are concerned. ~~X~~

LIMA went into the question of Party registration and said "We have had terrible losses in our Party", noting that the losses in the Negro forces were much greater in proportion to other losses. He said that he thought these losses have caused "A kind of internal factional situation" and continued "Our Party has lost its effectiveness in the fight for the Negro people . . . " This he remarked "is also the reason why the ultra-left is able to do so well". ~~X~~

LIMA concluded that the Party should take on some activity over the "right to work issue". ~~X~~

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS expressed the opinion that "these views are important -- the way our Party is tackling the question." He said that in his judgment "we" made some serious errors when "we" failed to control and take into account specific Negro questions. DENNIS then spoke of the many changes which have taken place in the "recent decade" describing these changes as relating to population shifts, land tenures, mechanization of agriculture and the expansion of industry in the South. He said that these changes have had a profound effect in the South, particularly in the "infamous black belt development."

DENNIS continued that the purpose of the projection of the idea of representative government in the black belt is a slogan of unity which will help develop a coalition movement of Negro, white and progressive forces which movement will express itself in other parts of the country and the country as a whole. After discussing the extension of industry in the South and the changes which it has brought about, DENNIS stated that together with this is the fact that millions of white men are requiring a new understanding of this question and in various degrees are wanting to support one or another of the (programs?) that Negro people propose.

Remarks of HY LUMER

LUMER agreed that industrialization has taken place in the South, but said that there must be considered "the question for land of sharecroppers." He continued that industrialization has taken place to a very great extent throughout the South and the kind of industrialization differs from one area to another. He said that the report (apparently referring to JACKSON's report) is obviously a crystallization and that he thought it would be valuable if the report were enlarged.

Remarks of THOMPSON

THOMPSON spoke of the status of the Negro in the South. He said that if "we" were to substitute the concept of the South as an especially oppressed region for a concept of oppression of the Negro people in the South "I" think it would be (wrong?).

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL said that in its presentation of the Negro question, the Party should not emphasize what it is not doing in order to avoid a sharpening of the general Party situation (apparently referring to factionalism). ~~ⓧ~~

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS said that he thought it was necessary to go into the role of the Negro industrial worker and the whole trade union movement. He made reference to the significant role the Party played in laying the groundwork of the organization of the CIO. He said that the Party provided the theoretical foundation that made possible the organization of the CIO and that contribution was from the Party and not the trade union movement. ~~ⓧ~~

MEYERS expressed the opinion that the Party has lost its ability to maintain a sustained struggle on the Negro problem. He stated that the special role that the Party has to play will stimulate the struggle for Negro rights. MEYERS then mentioned the need for awareness of the struggle against "white chauvinism." MEYERS continued "we" lost practically all "our" Negro membership and noted that some of the comrades coming back into the Party make a point of the casualties of the recent period and refer to the loss of the Negro to the Party. ~~ⓧ~~

Remarks of PAT TOOHEY

TOOHEY spoke of the loss of CP members in ^{the} New Jersey area. He said that he had to report in the past month two of "our" Negro comrades in the State Committee have resigned. He said that this is a trend which has developed over the past two years, and that the Negro people are probably disillusioned because of the lack of a program on the Negro question. ~~ⓧ~~

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Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

JOHNSON spoke of the policies of the United States "ruling class" and its attitude toward colored peoples of all lands. He referred to the exploitation of backward areas of colored people and continued "so also" the attitude toward the Negro people in the United States is the attitude shown toward colonial people. He said that "they" (Negroes) are second class citizens and have a colonial status. JOHNSON commented that "we" can relate the struggles today with the struggles for liberation in colonial countries. ~~X~~

JOHNSON concluded that the Party should state the many achievements (apparently on behalf of the Negroes) that "we" made without going overboard. ~~X~~

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON said that it is not sufficient for the Party to say that the Negro question is the national question, but that it is necessary in addition to define and to state which national question. JACKSON continued with a discussion of the movement of Negroes from suburban areas to the cities. He said that the cities to which the Negroes move is conditioned by the job opportunity. He said that consequently the alienation of the Negro masses of the countryside introduced a centrifugal force that scattered the Negro from job opportunities. ~~X~~

On the matter of procedure in the handling of the Negro question particularly with reference to "the finished product", JACKSON suggested that there be a meeting of the Negro Commission and a series of conferences held for future discussion of aspects of the Negro question. He stated that he felt that the Party should look forward to or plan to have future discussion on the Negro question at the National Committee meeting at the end of June for the purpose of "launching" a draft "on the Negro" question. ~~X~~

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Discussion followed as to the disposition/made of the JACKSON report. DENNIS recommended that the discussion be held in the National Negro Commission and in the resident NEC meetings and at the National Committee meeting to be held at the end of June, 1958. ~~&~~

The morning session adjourned at 2:02 p.m. ~~&~~

Remarks of WILLIAM ALBERTSON

WILLIAM ALBERTSON began the afternoon session with his report on the forthcoming New York elections. He said that the democratic "high command" has taken the position that there is no question in their minds that this year they are going to win. He said that the Republicans have not been very aggressive in challenging this point of view of the Democrats. According to ALBERTSON, in the industrial areas more so/in the farm areas the Democrats feel they can gain a foothold. HARRIMAN is unopposed for renomination. ALBERTSON continued that Senator IVES (Republican) has not as yet decided whether he is going to run again, but that regardless of this a struggle would take place in the Democratic "high command" and it seems that the Democrats have agreed that FINLETTER, the former secretary of the Air Force would be the candidate for United States Senate. ALBERTSON noted that FINLETTER had received some public support from Senator LEHMAN, STEVENSON and the Liberal Party. ALBERTSON expressed the opinion that FINLETTER's endorsement by this group pretty well guarantees his candidacy. ALBERTSON said that FINLETTER will probably be the only member to appear before the Democratic Convention for the United States Senate and that as far as other state wide posts are concerned, Governor HARRIMAN, Lieutenant Governor etc. there does not appear to be any change in that slate. As far as the Republican Party is concerned, ALBERTSON stated that NELSON ROCKEFELLER is the front running candidate for Republican nomination for governor of New York. He noted that the candidacy of PAUL WILLIAMS, United States Attorney (USA, SDNY) was generally announced the other day and then remarked "What he represents -- to the Republican Party -- I don't know." ~~&~~

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With reference to Senator IVES, ALBERTSON said that as he had indicated previously IVES has made no public statement as to his plans to run again. He recalled that a few months ago IVES had stated that he did not think he would run again. ALBERTSON said the Liberal Party "threatened to run RALPH BUNCHE for United States Senate." He said that this nomination of BUNCHE was not repudiated by BUNCHE himself but that sometime later the Liberal Party threw out some additional names like MURROW. ~~C~~

ALBERTSON went on to describe objectives of the CP in advancing independent political action to a higher level through stressing: ~~C~~

1. unemployment problems
2. cessation of H-bomb tests and holding of summit talks
3. mobilizing all progressive forces in primary struggles ~~C~~

With reference to the first item on unemployment, he noted that it is extremely serious in the upstate areas of New York particularly in Buffalo. He said that the raising of unemployment compension from \$36.00 to \$45.00 will not take care of individuals and not take care of a number of things. He felt that there is a need for a special session to be called by Governor HARRIMAN in order to take up future extensions of unemployment insurance, and that this should be an objective to be achieved as part of the election campaign. ALBERTSON then discussed the second point which he had made with reference to the cessation of the H-bomb tests and holding of summit talks. In this connection, he said that Greater New York, comprising New York City and its vicinity is considered by those supposed to know, namely the scientists, as the hottest radio active spot in the country. He said that there is more strontium 90 in the air in New York City than in any other place in the United States. ALBERTSON said that in view of this fact there cannot be a single candidate who is running for Federal office whether Congress or Senate, nor can there be a

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single candidate who is running for State Assembly, State Legislature or any other state office who must not be forced to express his position on the specific question of the cessation of the H-bomb tests. ALBERTSON then briefly alluded to the necessity of summit talks and said that HARRIMAN should be condemned for his position on these talks. ~~✗~~

ALBERTSON then took up the third point on the fact that all progressive forces in the state must be mobilized. He said that certainly what the progressives can do for the guarantee of the defeat of the Tamany machine of the Democratic Party and conservative machines in upstate areas of the Democratic Party certainly helps to move in a progressive direction and helps to advance independent political action. ALBERTSON noted that people who have left the Party even though they have the same objectives as the Party, in a particular situation, do not want to work for the Party. He said that the main fight is to establish unity with former Party members and others in some of the situations where family struggles are being conducted in order to achieve an objective which both of "us" have at a given moment. ~~✗~~

ALBERTSON then discussed the Liberal Party and said "we" think "we" ought to review just for a few seconds what the Liberal Party meaning is at the present time. He pointed out that the Liberal Party reaches the largest union in New York City, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and it also has the support of the restaurant unions in New York City. According to ALBERTSON the Liberal Party had the support of all the resourceful third party elements with the exception of those that can be considered "left". All of those who believed in the third party when "I" say those considered "left" up until recently that includes "us", it certainly includes the Trotskyites, the Guardian people and others who have no positive attitude toward the Liberal Party whatsoever at the present moment. ~~✗~~

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ALBERTSON said that it is necessary to remember that the Liberal Party is actually a balance of power party both in the city and in the state. He said that he knew that Governor HARRIMAN won the election the last time by eleven thousand votes and in this connection stated he did not know how many votes he got from the Liberal Party. He also pointed out that some years ago the Liberal Party elected a candidate HALLEY for president of the city council. He again stressed that the Liberal Party at the present moment is the major third party force in the state. ~~C~~

ALBERTSON said that he believed that the policy of the CP has to be one in which "we" try to influence all progressives among the people to join the Liberal Party, to work for the Liberal Party, to build the Liberal Party, to consider the Liberal Party generally speaking, with certain reservations naturally, as one time "our" Party looked upon the American Labor Party. He then said "let me say as our Party looked upon the American Labor Party at the time before there was a split." ALBERTSON stated that he did not want to be misunderstood, that he believes that the Liberal Party is the third party of the future but that it is a fact that currently this is the only major instrument for independent vote. ~~X~~

ALBERTSON then took up a discussion of the need to continue the struggle to elect a Negro to the United States Senate. He said that it appears at the present this had become a practical impossibility but that there was that possibility when the Liberal Party first made its announcement concerning RALPH BUNCHE. He said that this should be made a national question and that the Party should work constantly in such a way as "we" did once before in connection with the Borough President of Manhattan, where it was as a result of "our" work together with other progressives that the situation was created a few years ago where all three political parties had to nominate a Negro for the presidency of the Borough of Manhattan. ALBERTSON said that the issue of electing a Negro to the United States Senate must be kept alive in the hopes that perhaps there could be some success in 1960. He expressed

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the opinion that the attacks on ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in connection with the indictment by a Grand Jury, whatever facts may exist, is probably retaliation by the Tammany machine because they cannot get POWELL to "toe the line." He said that the progressives certainly should find it possible to continue their support for POWELL and to guarantee his renomination on the Democratic ticket. ALBERTSON described this as basically an anti-Tammany fight, ^{cannot} an anti-machine fight and a fight for the candidate who ~~cannot~~ be controlled by Tammany Hall and one who has played basically a positive role in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. ~~X~~

ALBERTSON stated that there is a movement within District 65 (probably ~~Retail~~, Wholesale and Department store union) to run DAVE LIVINGSTON (an official of District 65) for Congress and that the rank and file workers have picked up this slogan. ALBERTSON said that this is indicative of a movement to get labor candidates for various offices. He said that if necessary the CP should run its own candidate and he mentioned that at the moment only one district appeared likely, this being the Lower East Side, where ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN ran for City Council. ~~X~~

He described the area as one which might be considered a safe Democratic area. ALBERTSON then described as the last point that he had made, the movement for a joint Socialist ticket initiated by the Trotskyites. He continued that especially since the LaGUARDIA administration the tradition of independence, the creation of a third party to get independent candidates has been extremely strong and has a big mass support as witness the Liberal Party. He then noted that the Trotskyites when they first projected their program a number of months ago included in it aside from questions of unemployment etc. a plank which calls for freedom of the Soviet orbit and that the program was run primarily through the pages of "The Guardian." He said that most of the pages of "The Guardian" favor such a move for a joint Socialist ticket although there are many letters which attacked it. He said that the present status of this movement is that they have issued a public call on May 2 for a conference on 6/13, 14, and 15/58 for the purpose of setting up a state wide ticket and a program. ~~X~~

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JAC:pcs

- 9 -

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[redacted] made available a document identifying the sponsors of this conference as:

b6
b7C
b7D

1. HENRY ABRAMS
2. JOYCE COWLEY
3. RICHARD DE HAAN
4. W. E. DU BOIS
5. CORLISS LAMONT
6. [redacted]
7. JOHN T. MC MANUS of "The Guardian"
8. OTTO NATHAN
9. RUSS NIXON of the United Electrical Workers
10. ANNETTE RUBENSTEIN
11. HOWARD SELBY
12. GEORGE STRYKER)

He said that the group of 12 signed a letter and that the most important "thing" of this letter stated that it wants to place on the ballot on the independent Socialist ticket candidates for the 4 top state offices and the United States Senate. ALBERTSON said that the letter states that a minimum of 50 thousand votes can be obtained and that this would be of great political significance. ALBERTSON continued "now this is a serious commission of people" and he said that one of the contributing factors to this development is "our" neglect in the past in that "we" have considered some of the people associated with this as having too minor a position.

Continuing with reference to the United Socialist ticket ALBERTSON stated "though I don't think that the Party can participate in this movement, I think that the possibility of the success of this movement without the Party's participation is quite slim." ALBERTSON then returned to his discussion of the Liberal Party and said that the Liberal Party must be convinced that it is incumbent on the progressive forces to find the forms with which to place a state wide candidate whether it be a "Communist --- or Negro personality for the United States Senate."

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Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JOHNSON in discussing the ALBERTSON report on the elections, said that he advocated immediate support of ADAM CLAYTON POWELL and stated that POWELL should be urged to run. He continued that from the Negro point of view the immediate campaign should be for the re-election of POWELL, not just a Negro as a substitute for POWELL. JOHNSON observed "we" must be careful how "we" approach these "honest" forces regarding independent candidates. He mentioned an announcement made in Los Angeles to the effect that the candidates for President and Vice President of the United States would be (HILLMAN?) for President and FERRELL DOBBS for Vice President in 1960. He stated that at this stage people are going along on the formulation of a United Socialist ticket and noted that some call it the United Socialist ticket and others just the United ticket. ~~✗~~

Remarks of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

DAVIS made reference to ADAM CLAYTON POWELL and said that it is a question of national importance both by virtue of the role that POWELL has played in Congress and secondly by virtue of the fact that POWELL is without question the (champion?) of the free Negro. He continued that to eliminate POWELL would be one of the greatest blows that there could be. DAVIS continued that it was his feeling furthermore with reference to POWELL "that it is a conspiracy on the part of both parties to get Adam." He stated the Democrats have gone right along with it and may have something to do with it. DAVIS described POWELL as representing a certain independent force from the democratic process and as particularly representing the same independent force in the Negro people's movement. DAVIS suggested the possibility of developing some independent action around "Adam" and stated that this would be a device for registering disillusionment and protests of the Negro people against both major parties. ~~✗~~

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JAMES E. JACKSON indicated that he agreed on the matter of support of ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. ~~C~~

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

LIMA discussed the Trotskyites in the Los Angeles area and among other things, stated that the honest and decent people have taken things out of the hands of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and that in the Los Angeles area the political situation is such that members are seeking other lines than those of the major parties. He expressed approval of the correctness of the coalition tactics relative to the need for a third party movement having some substantial basis in labor with a guarantee for "left" participation. ~~C~~

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated he agreed with the main outline of the report of Comrade ALBERTSON and stated that it was more or less along the same line as the report of Comrade LIMA made "the last time." STACHEL continued that he thought that "we" have problems regarding the Liberal Party and one complication is that the Liberal Party with its progressive forces makes it difficult to participate within the CP, and therefore the CP "can only make it..." own candidate. ~~C~~

STACHEL mentioned that "we" were supposed to have a discussion on the Trotskyites and their role and we were also supposed to have a discussion on the "Guardian" and its role. He then stated, "What did we do?" and continued "I" started with the conception of Comrade DAVIS and most people here that the Trotskyites are looking for a home. "We" have a home in the CP, they haven't. Therefore some of them think that there should be a Progressive Party. He continued with his discussion on the Trotskyites and remarked, "We gave them the argument that if you want a party of Socialism, you have one, the Communist Party." STACHEL described MC MANUS (probably JOHN T. MC MANUS of the "National Guardian") as "mixed up" and stated that he

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did not want a party, what he wanted from "our" point of view was neither a Marxist party nor a mass labor party. STACHEL suggested a positive approach, making the statement that he would go in there before hand and meet with DU BOIS or LAMONT explaining "our" full policy. He stated some things "we agree with them and some things we don't." He went on "we" think it would be good to have a ticket which would represent not a united fight for Socialism but for peace, combined with a program on behalf of the Negro people and taking into consideration the economic struggle. STACHEL expressed the opinion in referring to a United Socialist ticket "we" will make some concessions to them in regard to running a candidate and since they know they cannot be elected anyhow, it should not be a big issue. He stated that the deal with them should be open and honest and continued "should not be a Communist, should be a I think we can do some business."

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS stated that he thought the basis for the coalition between Republicans and Democrats to "dump" ADAM CLAYTON POWELL was because of the fact that he has seniority in Congress and is a member of "some very important committees."

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

THOMPSON agreed that there should be a change in attitude toward the Liberal Party and stated that he thought that the Liberal Party is going to play a more influential role. THOMPSON expressed the opinion that a change in policy in relation to the Liberal Party would cause less anti-party feeling. He expressed some doubt with respect to becoming connected with the United Socialist ticket and remarked that this group in the electoral field is going to be in conflict with "our" main objectives. He stated that he did not think that "we" have much to gain in facilitating the emergence of this group on the scene.

THOMPSON noted that some comrades had argued that this group (United Socialist ticket) would get support from the ultra-left and stated that this is very possible.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated he was in agreement with part of what was contained in the report. He stated that it was particularly important to create a situation where there will be a number of labor candidates together with Negroes. He stated he thought that it should be made clear that "we" are for the mass people's party for this State. ~~X~~

There followed a general discussion of ALBERTSON's report summed up by BENJAMIN DAVIS' comment that they could not decide to vote for the report in its entirety or to vote for it with exceptions. ~~X~~

EUGENE DENNIS suggested they take out two questions, one being on the matter of the Liberal Party and the other being on the United Socialist ticket. He recommended that they then vote on the main line of the report. ~~X~~

A vote was taken on the main line of the report with the two exceptions noted above, and the report was accepted. ~~X~~

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

LIMA spoke on the resignation of the twenty six CP officials in California and stated that in San Francisco there was a pretty sharp reaction against those who resigned. He stated that in the outlying counties the reaction was different because they do not have the same personnel situation as does San Francisco. With respect to the East Bay situation, LIMA stated that there the reaction to the Party leadership was one of being frankly critical of the entire Party leadership. LIMA continued that there seemed to be a lot of uncertainty on the part of the people involved (twenty six) and that it is obvious some are marking time, others are feeling that they will leave the entire movement and others had illusions that they would take a lot of people with them. ~~X~~

LIMA continued that "we" are attempting to strengthen the entire California setup and "we" have some good people left. ~~X~~

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LIMA stated that he did not feel capable to deal with the situation in Southern California and observed that the resignations have had more serious effects there than in "our" area. ~~&~~

LIMA indicated that ELIZABETH FLYNN was being successful in her appearance on behalf of the Party on the Coast. He indicated that there were appearances under the auspices of the "Peoples World" and there were 300 in San Francisco, 200 in East Bay and 100 in Santa Rosa (apparently referring to persons in attendance) who were very enthusiastic and very spirited. He stated that ELIZABETH (FLYNN) felt that their spirit was much better than those in Los Angeles. ~~&~~

Remarks of PAT TOOHEY

TOOHEY again discussed the situation in New Jersey, reiterating that all of the Negro comrades were opposed to the State leadership. He stated that on the other hand "I'm trying to cajole, plead or anything to get comrades to work and help. He stated that the sum result has been that "we've" been dragging along with inability to get the Party going. He noted that the other side of it is "we" have the problem of the ultra-left and continued "we" have enough trouble over there trying to hold this Party together. He stated "we" could use the services in New Jersey of an established organization. TOOHEY mentioned someone in New Brunswick, whose name could not be obtained by the informant, who can take time off to go down to Baltimore to visit all kinds of people for some nebulous, Utopian new party program. (possibly DAVE ROCKLIN, a New Jersey member who has not found time to turn over records from New Jersey CP to TOOHEY, who is now New Jersey Chairman). TOOHEY continued that in New Jersey "we" have a number of resignations of club chairmen and that these comrades who are still in the Party argue that they have differences with Party policy. He noted that some comrades take an anti-Party attitude and claim that it is legitimate debate. He described this as demoralizing. TOOHEY stated that without a program and policy followed by intensive organization around it "we" will not be able to do much to jolt the Party

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out of this depressing situation. He stated his impression was that there is general criticism within the Party of the "too much take it easy attitude" of the leadership. He expressed the feeling that there should be an urgent mobilization of those comrades and forces in the Party to take the situation in hand with vigor. He stated that steps should be taken to go after every single Party member that can be obtained. ~~X~~

TOOHEY continued that it would seem to him that the solution is not in New Jersey or any other district but lies mainly in the effort to solve the Party situation from the top down. He concluded that what the Party needs is a period of peace and concentrated work. ~~X~~

EUGENE DENNIS then invited those present to ask any questions that they may have of TOOHEY. ~~X~~

BEN DAVIS asked TOOHEY to give the tentative position of the Negro Party group "over there" (referring to New Jersey) and on the estimate of their relationship of the Party in relation to the group. TOOHEY replied, "I'm" not too familiar with this group. They function as a separate section of the Communist Party composed of people who drop out of the Party themselves or were dropped by the Party. He stated that he has seen several of these people and they are all workers, very good neighborhood type workers, and are Party conscious. He described them as loyal to the Party and stated "now here is a tragic thing, they work against themselves." ~~X~~

TOOHEY stated that there were eighteen in this group and explained that sixteen of the eighteen were recommended for reinstatement by the State Appeals Committee, the seventeenth was ordered to have a new trial, and the eighteenth was subject to serious charges that had to be investigated. He continued that fourteen of these eighteen have no case against the Party and the Party has no case against them. He stated these were so called "drops" in that they dropped themselves away from the Party from time to time. ~~X~~

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TOOHEY described the case of these Negro comrades as very complicated and stated that in order to remove any idea of any special interest in the matter, "I" request the NEC to add a third member to the Appeals Committee and let "me" step out. ~~&~~

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS in commenting on the situation in Baltimore, stated that some comrades are dropping out, some are just staying confused, and others are unwilling to accept responsibility; they are indifferent with respect to attendance at meetings. He continued, in Baltimore, "we're" attempting to have a general membership meeting in Washington very shortly and hoped out of that to re-establish Party functions in an organized way. He stated that Washington has been a way station for visits of all kinds of factional activities. ~~&~~

MEYERS concluded that he thought that the combination of determination to rebuild the Party and what has happened on the economic front in the country was reason to be optimistic about things. ~~&~~

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

THOMPSON described the attacks on the Party as not just a case of a flurry of isolated attacks on the Party but "coming to a head is a certain drive both to the right and the left." He stated "we" must begin to create a situation in the Party where Party members begin to once again look upon it as a part of Party membership to fight for the Party and "we" cannot create that atmosphere unless we have leadership. ~~&~~

THOMPSON made reference to the California situation and stated he felt that the reaction (apparently to the resignation of the 26) from Northern California was good but suffers from one shortcoming in that it does not take a positive, affirmative approach to instilling confidence in CP policies. ~~&~~

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Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON stated "we" have to demonstrate the will to raise "our" hands against attacks against the Party and identify key figures in the campaign for the dismemberment of the Party. He continued, "I'm for a general purge starting with the leadership of the Party, that means at the National Committee level." He urged determination "on our part" to defend the Party from all quarters and as completely as is necessary. ~~X~~

Remarks of an Individual Believed
to be HY LUMER

A person believed to be HYMAN LUMER stated that he had heard last week that GEORGE CHARNEY was at a meeting with nineteen people who discussed setting up a publication to compete with the Party. He described this as organized anti-Party activity and stated it was his opinion that a few ultimatums should be issued. ~~X~~

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS commented on what he described as a conspiracy to "overrun the Party," and indicated that there are many people who can be influenced in either direction at this point. He stated that he is convinced that these people include some among the California twenty six and that these are people that in no sense of the word at this stage of the game are involved in organized conspiracy against the Party. MEYERS continued that he thought that when "we" formulate opposition we have to think of defending the Party within the framework of the particular kind of factionalism situation "we" got in the Party. MEYERS stated that undoubtedly there have been mistakes on both sides but it has not been because people have consciously tried to destroy the Party. He stated "we" do not want to say anything that is going to make it impossible for people to have the doors open to be more fully involved in the work of the Party. ~~X~~

MEYERS concluded that many of the people have lost confidence in the Party and one "main link" as to why people left the Party was because they had lost confidence. ~~X~~

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NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS indicated that he could understand PAT'S (TOOHEY) not "wanting to be on the Committee" because of the fact that he is Chairman of the District, but that he could not see tangible results without PAT's assistance. With respect to the California 26, DAVIS stated that he was impressed with the Northern California statement, especially as compared with the Southern California statement. He stated that if there is a conspiracy "and I think there is", then "we" should have more precisely anticipated it and the all around national effects of it. He continued, "now on the question of calling in people and defending the leadership," it would be necessary to do this and "we" have to come out against the obvious slander against the leadership. He stated that on the question of taking organizational measures, "we" have to take them and continued that in this connection he had called in GEORGE CHARNEY and told him that the Party expects this faction to be dissolved and if it is not dissolved, the comrades will expect the Party to take action. ~~Q~~

DAVIS went on that the fight against factionalism must be launched and concluded that the work of the NEC should appear in positive terms. He cited as an example that the National Committee members and the NEC members have to find ways of going around to various districts and seeing the problem. ~~Q~~

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he felt it was necessary from time to time to appraise the work of the Party. He stated that all indications are that the ultra-left is preparing a split in the Party. ~~Q~~

There followed a general discussion and the informant was unable to determine if any concrete proposals were made or adopted. ~~Q~~

At 9:28 p.m., without any apparent formal adjournment, the meeting ended. ~~Q~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
1-3-7

DATE: 5/29/58

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-24617)

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (7-2)

b6
b7CSUBJECT: WILLIAM KAINO HEIKKILA
SM-C
(OO:San Francisco)

By airtel 5/13/58, SF advised that INS, San Francisco has requested names of all persons known to have attended Lenin School for interview in order to develop witnesses who can testify that HEIKKILA attended Lenin School in early 1930's. SF recommended that INS be furnished the names and last known residences of the 120 individuals mentioned in Bureau summary 7/10/53 of persons who attended Lenin School.

By airtel 5/19/58, Bureau agreed with recommendation and instructed that the office of origin in each case should review that case and determine if any reason exists to preclude furnishing name and current residence of that person to INS. If no reason exists, SF should be so advised, copy to Bureau, handled by airtel.

1-New York (100-50700 (AUBREY CLIFFORD BAILEY) 12-15
①-New York (100-56579 (PHILIP BART) 12-12
1-New York (100-54126) (RUDOLPH BLUM) 6
1-New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER) 7-4
1-New York (100-7971) (MARGARET COWL) 12-11
1-New York (100-228) (SONIA CROLL) 7-1
1-New York (100-65738) (MARY DALTON) 12-11
1-New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) 7-5
1-New York (100-93796) (PEGGY DENNIS) 7-5
1-New York (100-19003) (DAVID DRUMMOND) 7-2
1-New York (100-74730) (ROMANIA FERGUSON) 12-13
1-New York (100-14214) (Mrs. JAMES W. FORD) 12-15
1-New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) 7-6
1-New York (100-315354) (BENJAMIN GERJOY) 7-4
1-New York (100-24617)

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100-56579-3284

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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(Copies Cont'd)

1-New York (100-80645) (OL GAGOLD) 12-15
1-New York (100-14541) (BEN GOLD) 7-1
1-New York (100-25677) (REBECCA GRECHT) 12-15
1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) 7-5
1-New York (100-94970) (ABE HARFIELD) 12-10
1-New York (100-81495) (HARRY HEYWOOD) 12-11
1-New York (100-8879) (AL LANNON) 7-5
1-New York (100-467) (WILLIAM LAWRENCE) 7-6
1-New York (100-8033) [REDACTED] 12-14
1-New York (100-13326) (SAM MILGROM) 12-14
1-New York (100-18056) (JACOB MINDEL) 12-10
1-New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) 7-1
1-New York [REDACTED] 7
1-New York (100-13447) (SAM NESIN) 12-11
1-New York (100-84275) (WM. L. PATTERSON) 7-5
1-New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) 7-6
1-New York (100-64599) (MRS. HARRY RAYMOND) 7-1
1-New York (100-40812) (AMY SAFFORD) 12-15
1-New York (100-5767) (MARCEL SHERER) 18-1
1-New York (100-34665) (MRS. MARCEL SHERER) 18-1
1-New York (100-9787) (PETE SHAPIRO) 12-0
1-New York (100-7577) (ROBERT WILLIAM WEINER) 7-6
1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) 7-6
1-New York (100-70282) (MAUD WHITE) 12-15
1-New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) 7-6
1-New York (100-13525) (ROSE WORTIS) 12-10
1-New York (100-21431) (MARTIN YOUNG) 6
1-New York (100-24617) (WM. HEIKKILA) 7-2

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NY 100-24617

The Bureau summary of 7/10/53 has been reviewed and one copy of this memorandum has been designated for each subject mentioned therein in which NYO is origin.

It is requested that the appropriate desk handling each of these individuals have the case file reviewed for a determination as to whether the name and address can be furnished to INS. A memorandum should be promptly prepared setting forth a recommendation in this regard. If the recommendation is one indicating that the name should not be furnished, the Bureau desires that the reasons for this recommendation be set forth. If the recommendation is positive, the name and most recent address should be set forth in the memorandum, which memorandum should be designated for NY 100-24617, desk 7-2.

It should be noted that INS, due to the attendant publicity, considers the Heikkila case its most important and the Bureau has instructed that this matter receive expedite handling.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-24617) 7-2

DATE 6/5/58

FROM : SA [REDACTED] 12-12

b6
b7CSUBJECT: WILLIAM KAINO KEIKKILA
SM - C

(OO: San Francisco)

Reference memo to SAC from SA [REDACTED] 5/29/58.

There is no reason why the name PHILIP BART, address 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York should not be furnished INS, San Francisco in connection with the case of captioned individual as explained in referenced memo.

Chief Clerk
Post
1958

- 1 - New York (100-24617) (7-2)
① - (100-56579) (Philip Bart) (12-12*)

(2)
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100-33579-3285

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JUN 10 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

DIRECTOR, FBI (ATT: Assistant Director
A. H. PELMONT)

6/17/58

Wm
SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (#12-12)

CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

PHILIP BART, was.
SM - C
SA, 1940

Remylet dated 4/24/58, reporting the results of
an interview with PHILIP BART on 4/11/58.

During the course of that interview, BART said
that he had an appointment and did not have time to talk to
the agents. He indicated that he might have talked if he
could have spared the time.

Re-Contact with PHILIP BART

On 6/5/58, PHILIP BART was contacted by
SAS EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and CHESTER A. REILLY a secure distance
from his place of employment at 22 Thames Street, New York
City. When BART recognized the agents, he again became very
excited. When he was asked if he would give the agents
time to have a confidential talk with him, he excitedly
said "No No, I've made up my mind. I'll never talk to the
FBI, you are wasting your time. Don't bother me any more
because I'm not going to talk to you no matter what happens."
With these remarks, BART turned and walked rapidly in the
opposite direction. The agents accompanied him for several
steps making various points in an effort to gain his
confidence. BART refused to reply and turned into a nearby
restaurant.

2 - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)
(1-100-3286)

1 - New York () (INV) ()

1 - New York (100-56579) (#12-12)

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Active
6/18/58
Chief Clerk
Post *Wm* #7
6/18/58

100-56579-3286

12-12
Wm
WLB

NY 100-56579

In view of his attitude, the interview was terminated at this point. No consideration is being given for a recontact with BART under the TOPLEV program at this time.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-78933)

6/5/58

SA [REDACTED]

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b7C

ISIDORE GLEBY NEEDLEMAN
LA-R, ISA of 1950

Source NY 1286-3*
Reliability who has furnished reliable
information in the past
Date of Activity 5/23/58
Date Received 5/23/58

Informant learned that NEEDLEMAN had received from Antorg 4 tickets to a performance of the Malsayev Dance Company at Madison Square Garden. Informant ascertained that he had also gotten 4 tickets from the "National Guardian," for the 5/20/58 performance. He offered the latter 4 tickets to IRVING KAPLAN and his wife, DOROTHY; however, KAPLAN revealed that they had already seen the dancers.

Informant reported that an unidentified woman in the office of Dr. MILTON FELTENSTEIN agreed to take the above-mentioned tickets at a price of \$7.50 each.

NEEDLEMAN informed SAM BROWN of the receipt of the above-mentioned tickets from Antorg and related that SARRA RAGOZIN wanted SAM to pay for his, SAM's, tickets. NEEDLEMAN related that he had already sent SARRA a check. SAM reported that he had been at Antorg on 5/23/58, but had not seen SARRA. He revealed, however, that he would be at Antorg again on 5/26/58 and would pay for the tickets at that time.

1-New York (65-15119) (IRVING KAPLAN) 6
1-New York (100-126340) (DOROTHY KAPLAN) 6
1-New York (100-21785) (SAM BROWN) 6
1-New York (65-7471) (Antorg) 17
1-New York (100-61558) [REDACTED] 6
1-New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) 12-12
1-New York (100-487) (BILL LAWRENCE) 7-6
1-New York (100-95077) (ALFRED VANTASSER) 6
1-New York (100-99145) (MILTON FELTENSTEIN) 6
1-New York (100-78633)

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CT: jao
(10)

100-56579-325
12-17
[REDACTED]

NY 100-78533

NEEDLEMAN told BROWN about having recently met LOUIE GROSS, an accountant, who lives in Rockland County. SAM related that he knew GROSS very well as he used to be SAM's accountant. SAM also revealed that GROSS is the accountant for The Cookery and that he sees him there frequently.

NEEDLEMAN advised BROWN that he is suing PHIL BART's brother, a furrier, as the latter owed somebody (BILL LAWRENCE?) some money. SAM told NEEDLEMAN that PHIL BART is in bad shape and is "mostly paralyzed."

NEEDLEMAN told BROWN that he and the KAPLANS planned to visit ALFRED VANTASSER on the afternoon of 5/24/58.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-117158)

DATE: 6/10/58

FROM: SA THOMAS J. McNIFF

SUBJECT: DANNY RUBEL
IS-C

NY 2125-S* on indicated dates made available
the following:

If the information furnished by this informant is utilized, it must be paraphrased to protect the source. Names and expressions appearing in parenthesis are strictly the opinion of the writer.

ANDY ONDA, on 5/8/58, inquired of WILL WEINSTONE at CP Headquarters if "it" (believe to be educational meeting) was still on for Tuesday. WILL replied in the affirmative. ANDY then stated that he postponed Wednesday and WILL replied that ANDY will have to postpone Thursday also. WILL then added that HY LUMER would be the speaker on Tuesday to which ANDY stated "that will give them a big boost."

- 1 - NY (100-6622) (ANDY ONDA) (12-12)
- 1 - NY (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (7-4)
- 1 - NY (100-9595) (WILL WEINSTONE) (7-4)
- 1 - NY (100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN) (12-11)
- ① - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BLATT) (12-12)
- 1 - NY (100-12959) (CONNIE BLATT) (12-12)
- 1 - NY (100-11096) (TOM MYERSCOUGH) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-60640) (HAROLD COLLINS) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-133091) (SANE NUCLEAR POLICY COMMITTEE) (7-1)
- 1 - NY (100-128822) (NYS CP EDUCATION) (7-5)
- 1 - NY (100-20) (MORRIS SHAPPEES) (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-117158)

TJM:mzg
(12)

100-56579-3288

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 10 1958	
RK	
MLB	

#12-12

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NY 100-117158

ANDY OND/ on 5/8/58, attempted to contact a [redacted] (PH) but was advised [redacted] was not available. ANDY said he would try to contact him later. Informant was unable to furnish any identifying information concerning [redacted]

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CHARLES LOMAN on 5/12/58, advised DANNY RUBEL that "it" (believed to be Marxist Educational Class) will be at his, LOMAN'S, home that coming Wednesday and he added that he, LOMAN, had to go to a meeting (possibly State Committee) in NY that evening.

DANNY RUBEL on 5/12/58, inquired of PHIL BART if it is all right if he, RUBEL, stops up for ten minutes. PHIL replied that it is all right with him and he added that he is expecting CONNIE (BART) home shortly.

TOM (MYERSCOUGH) on 5/13/58, advised DANNY RUBEL that he had a meeting (believed to pertain to the SMO Nuclear Policy Group) last evening at which 20 to 30 people were present, which TOM said was good as the meeting was organized by word of mouth. TOM then said that he wanted about 15 \$1.00 tickets to the ROBERTSON affair to satisfy the demands of the people of last evenings meeting. RUBEL replied that the tickets can be procured by contacting the paper (The Worker).

RUBEL on 5/13/58, attempted to contact [redacted] HY LUMER at unknown location and was advised that although LUMER was in NYC at the time, he was out of the office just then.

RUBEL on 5/15/58, attempted to contact HAROLD COLLINS at CP Headquarters, but was advised COLLINS was not there at that time.

NY 100-117158

An individual believed to be MORRIS SCHAPPES (Jewish Currents) on 5/15/58, contacted RUBEL and asked him to pay on his account. RUBEL replied that he is hard pressed for money but would send \$20.00. He added that he would have to work out credit arrangements to pay for the balance. SCHAPPES closed by requesting RUBEL to pay as much as he can.

7/19/58 *Ver Due*

VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARD

MEMORANDUM RE: *Philip Burt*Office File *100-56579*

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

Residence: *Apt. 46, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Bklyn, N.Y.*Employment: *Lardick Bros Inc.*Address: *22 Thruway Pl. N.Y. N.Y.*Key Facility ☐ Yes ☒ NoSecurity Flash ☒ Yes ☐ NoDetcom ☒ Yes ☐ NoPhoto ☒ Yes ☐ No

It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record.

A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial

*See Summary*Residence: *Same*Method of Verification: *Pretext to Buck 7-7744*Neighborhood Source: *(Listed: Phillip Burt)*Date: *7/15/58*Verified by SA: *[Redacted]* (nature: Laundry service)Employment: *Same*

Address:

Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ No

Date Checked:

Geographical Reference Number:

Tab Detcom: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Method of Verification:

Employment Source: *Interviewed in vicinity of place of*Date: *6/5/58*Verified by SA: *JAS Edward W. Buckley & Chester A. Reilly.*FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau: ☐ Yes ☒ NoFile Reviewed *7/29/58*

☒ Subject Meets SI Criteria
☐ Does Not Meet SI Criteria

Agents Initials: *WLB*Date: *7/29/58*

100-56579-3289

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 19 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>WLB</i>	
<i>SI Unit</i>	
<i>12-12</i>	
<i>FT Maff</i>	

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 7-21-58

CAUTION SHOULD BE UTILIZED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS SOURCE. IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE BRACKETS ARE USED TO ENCLOSE A NAME OR WORDS, THE ENCLOSED PORTION IS NOT ACTUALLY PROVIDED BY THIS SOURCE BUT IS ASSUMED AND INSERTED FOR THE SAKE OF CLARITY.

CG 6172-S*, on July 9, 1958, provided information reflecting that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and JAMES WEST were at the headquarters of the Communist Party of Illinois, 36 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois, and were engaged in general conversation. They were subsequently joined by SAM KUSHNER and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Discussion Between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
and JAMES WEST

JIM WEST said that he had given an account of what has occurred on the South Side to ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. WEST said she took down all the information and she intends to take up the matter with JIM JACKSON, HY LUMER and everybody else so that no one back in New York will be in a position to be pressured from any direction without being able to reply. WEST characterized FLYNN's role as a good one.

LIGHTFOOT agreed that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN could play a very important role. He said she can do an awful lot to pull this Party together, but heretofore she has refrained from getting into these situations.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Cleveland (100-4212) (HYMAN LUMER) (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-26044) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)

See 1a page for additional copies.

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100-36579-3290

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JUL 22 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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CG 100-33741

(13) - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry) (#7-5)
- ~~(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)~~
- (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-20789) (W. E. B. DU BOIS) (#12-11)
- (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (#12-11)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-) (JULIAN LOWITT)
- (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#7-5)

4 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-27747) (CP-USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100-) ("People's World")
- (1 - 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
- (1 - 100-) (GEORGE SANDE)

20 - Chicago

- (1 - 100-18963) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Factionalism)
- (1 - 100-17769) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Funds)
- (1 - 100-18952) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Membership)
- (1 - 100-18956) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Negro Question)
- (1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
- (1 - 100-22007) (CP-USA, Illinois District, South Side Section)
- (1 - 65-645) (Socialist Workers Party)
- (1 - 100-25372) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-32709) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18080) (RICHARD CRILEY)
- (1 - 100-31106) (CHARLES DEMETRE)
- (1 - 100-24702) (JONNIE ELLIS)
- (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
- (1 - 100-30179) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
- (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-33937) (AL MC PHERSON)
- (1 - 100-20289) (JAMES WEST)
- (1 - 100-2749) (MOLLIE WEST)

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CG 100-33741

JIM WEST said that at first MOLLIE WEST and FLO HALL had doubts about what should be told the people "in Chicago" in regard to the National Committee meeting. They felt the way it is being handled might lead the way to the ultra-Left distorting the issues.

LIGHTFOOT said that certainly the whole story has to be told, but in a certain context. LIGHTFOOT said he received a copy of the Labor Policy Statement today and the comrades have to see this document too.

JIM WEST said MOLLIE and FLO put out the idea that the ultra-Left may put out articles which may have some people raise questions about what they have heard when compared with such distortions. JIM WEST said his feeling is that at the next NC meeting, there should be some summary so everybody doesn't go off making their own interpretations.

LIGHTFOOT agreed with this approach and said that a summary could be put in terms of being the last word.

WEST then said, "This [redacted] is that the wife of the old lawyer that died?" LIGHTFOOT replied, "No, she is the one that works in packing."

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Next WEST said, [redacted] sent this. What does she expect? That we throw our arms around her?" After a pause, WEST said, "DEMETRE and [redacted] Is she part of the ultra-Left?" LIGHTFOOT replied, "I think so. I think it is the same one."

KUSHNER entered the office and asked if they had a chance to go over the Labor Policy Statement. WEST said he had a chance to skim over it.

Discussion Between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, JAMES WEST, SAM KUSHNER and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

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Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT told FLYNN that on the previous evening he attended the meeting of the Trial Committee (for the South Side Section) and that committee is going to recommend that PAT (ELLIS) and [redacted] be expelled. Also, that petitions will

CG 100-33741

be set up for re-admittance of the others. Also, "We are recommending the conditions for re-admission, if they want to; but the committee will propose their expulsion."

LIGHTFOOT said he has just talked with DICK (CRILEY), who raises a good point. He is concerned that in the drive for discipline and an end to factionalism that "we do not overlook justifiable grievances which faced these people. LIGHTFOOT said it is quite true that there were people with PAT ELLIS who were with her only on the basis of inactivity on the South Side. AL MC PHERSON gave inactivity as the reason when LIGHTFOOT met with him on this question. It is grievances of this kind that underlie the ability of PAT (ELLIS) to do this.

LIGHTFOOT said that as of now the national leadership has to sustain this (District) leadership and not allow it to be kicked around and abused in New York and other Districts by District leaderships. When the questions come to the National Committee, if the comrades have criticism of the Illinois District, they are free to voice it. This District is not trying to regiment the National Office to agree with everything. But the thoughts that are being expressed by BOB (THOMPSON), JIM (JACKSON), and BEN (DAVIS) should be cut down. If they don't, they are not helping this leadership and this grouping wants to throw this leadership down the drain.

LIGHTFOOT commented that DENNIS did not remark one way or another when he was here, at least not to LIGHTFOOT, but maybe he talked to FLYNN.

Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN replied to LIGHTFOOT that DENNIS did not make a comment and that he tries to maintain a balance. She pointed out that the role being set for her is one which she has not played. She has tried very carefully not to take a factional position and she has maintained the right to her own views.

This reminded FLYNN of something which happened in California with GEORGE SANDE. LIGHTFOOT interrupted to inquire if this was the GEORGE SANDE who used to be in Indiana. After FLYNN said it was, LIGHTFOOT said he thought GEORGE was out of the Party. FLYNN said he was on the Right, but he is in the Party. He has done a good job on the "People's World". He has a good

CG 100-33741

approach. MICKEY LIMA told him that the Party did not want him to indict the Party's views in a paper which is read by both Party and non-Party people and by both extremes of views. SANDE respected this instruction and quieted down in the paper. FLYNN said they had tried to get GEORGE for "The Worker", but he wanted to go to the West coast from New Jersey.

Next FLYNN said that when she was in California, at one time she sat in a meeting with DOROTHY (HEALEY), at which time DOROTHY said that all their troubles come from New York. FLYNN said she felt like interrupting DOROTHY and saying she didn't know she felt that way about FLYNN. FLYNN stated that in these matters things certainly can get blown up out of proportion. Comrades say a lot of things in the heat of passion and later they think them over. DOROTHY goes back and thinks these things over and realizes she should not have said them.

Additional Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said he thinks that he knows why BEN DAVIS made the remarks he did about DOROTHY. There is this situation on the South Side of Chicago which involves a Negro woman. When Negro women come to BEN and ask him what he did about the situation, he can point out that he made a motion about a white woman, DOROTHY HEALEY, and that she should be removed. Then he can point out what happened to him when he made that motion.

After FLYNN stated she thought LIGHTFOOT might be right, LIGHTFOOT switched the conversation to again point out that it was the broadest sponsorship ever for the DU BOIS meeting (in Chicago). LIGHTFOOT said that one of the problems now is how can the Party people begin to narrow down the differences they have with people? He said the Party is isolated from people normally called the Left and the Trotskyites are taking over.

Remarks of SAM KUSHNER

SAM KUSHNER said he thought that the article by DU BOIS in the "National Guardian" this week was good, where he said he is a philosopher and a student and wants the world to go in a certain direction. Maybe it won't go but you try and the history of progress is built on failures. It isn't that he thinks people are wrong who don't agree with him, but he thinks certain things

CG 100-33741

should happen. KUSHNER said this provides a wonderful opening for somebody to write and say that his position is generally a correct one and a good one, but many who admire him especially find a conflict in the organizations in which they are working.

WEST said that in heart and mind, DU BOIS is a Marxist-Leninist, but his body is with the Trotskyites.

BETTY GANNETT

LIGHTFOOT asked FLYNN about BETTY (GANNETT). FLYNN indicated that GANNETT is in the West and she is much happier now.

Additional Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT went back to the time that everybody was getting out of jail. He said it was a time when the Party leadership was beginning to discuss the mistakes made and these two events came together. LIGHTFOOT said he thought it would have been preferable to let the committee handle the problems without anybody pressing at the door and asking to be let in because this is his Party too. The full bureau was not integrated. When those in leadership were meeting with those just out of jail, the people formerly in the leadership did not play a role when they came together. PHIL BART had been handling org. work but he was sitting outside when this was being discussed. JULIE (LOWITT), in the youth movement, had just graduated and he was left by himself. When BETTY came out of jail, she thought everybody was a bureaucrat. She talked to LIGHTFOOT about it and got real excited. Yet, she kept wanting to know what the people in leadership did to her while she was in jail and LIGHTFOOT told her that he had not done a thing.

When FLO HALL and [redacted] came into the office, the latter was introduced to FLYNN.

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LIGHTFOOT then commented that DICK (CRILEY) walked out of this office "broken" (after the conversation of July 8, 1958). LIGHTFOOT added that DICK thinks he is right on everything. LIGHTFOOT said he intended to see CRILEY again the next day.

Funds

WEST said he was going to the printers and he will make

CG 100-33741

a small payment. He also wants some dues envelopes and receipt books made up. LIGHTFOOT asked WEST to explain that the Party will do what it can to pay its bill.

WEST said that there has been a letdown on the fund drive following the July 4, 1958, picnic, and some way will have to be found to pep it up. There is a little money around, but not in large amounts.

LIGHTFOOT asked how the Loop Division is. WEST said he has to see a guy about that tomorrow. The Loop has some good plans, but they are not getting around to see people individually.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 8/27/58	Investigative Period 8/7,8,11,12/58
TITLE OF CASE PHILIP BART, was.		Report made by [redacted]	b6 b7C Typed By: hr
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	

Synopsis:

BART residing 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, as of 8/11/58, and employed Pandick Press Inc., 22 Thames Street, NY, as of 8/12/58. BART doing nothing for Party as of 2/17/58. BART considered or suggested for positions of Organizational Secretary or Treasurer, CP USA between February and April, 1958. Refused to be interviewed by FBI agents 4/11/58, and 6/5/58.

- P* -

DETAILS:

BACKGROUND

Residence

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Brooklyn, New York, advised SA [redacted] on August 11, 1958,

Approved <i>ast</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 4 - Bureau (100-3284) (RM) 3 - New York (100-56579) <i>DM</i>		100-56579-3291	
		<i>PC C sent to Cleveland</i>	
		5/65	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-65679

that the BARTS were then residing at the above address.

Employment

Through a pretext telephone call by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 12, 1958, to Worth 4-2900 listed to Pandick Press Incorporated, 22 Thames Street, New York, New York, it was ascertained that PHIL BART was then employed by the above concern.

AFFILIATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Communist Party (CP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CP Membership

T-1 advised on February 18, 1958, that on February 17, 1958, PHIL BART stated that he was still not assigned and still doing nothing for the Party.

T-2 advised on February 21, 1958, that PHIL BART was one of the persons who might be considered for the position of Organizational Secretary of the CP United States of America.

T-1 advised on March 4, 1958, that on that date PHIL BART was suggested as an excellent person for the position of Organizational Secretary of the CP United States of America.

T-1 advised on April 7, 1958, that at a special meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP held April 2, 1958, PHIL BART was mentioned as a person who might fill the position of Organizational Secretary or Treasurer of the CP United States of America.

Miscellaneous

T-3 on May 8, 1958, made available the following

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-65679

DANNY RUBEL made plans to contact PHIL BART on May 8, 1958.

T-4 advised on May 6, 1957, and July 11, 1958, that DANNY RUBEL was Organizational Secretary of the Kings County CP.

SAS EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and CHESTER A. REILLY attempted to interview PHIL BART on April 11, 1958, and on June 5, 1958. On April 11, 1958, BART advised "I am in too much of a hurry to talk to you about anything". On June 5, 1958, BART advised "I'll never talk to the FBI, you are wasting your time. Dont bother me anymore because I'm not going to talk to you no matter what happens".

Other informants, who are familiar with certain phases of CP activity in the New York City area, advised during August, 1958, that they had no knowledge of the subject. These informants were exhibited photographs of the subject.

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York, New York
August 27, 1958

NY 100-56579

061 Re: Philip East, with aliases
Security Matter - C

In regard to the report of Special Agent [redacted]
[redacted] dated and captioned as above, all of the informants
have furnished reliable information in the past.

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This memorandum is loaned to you by the FBI,
and neither it nor its contents are to be
distributed outside the agency to which
loaned.

4 - Bureau (100-3284) (RM)
3 - New York (100-56579)

[redacted]:hr

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(7)

WLB
21

21
100-56579-3292

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

8/27/58

WLB SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

PHILIP BART, was.
SM-C

Enclosed herewith are 4 copies of the report of
SA [] and 4 copies of a letterhead memorandum
dated and captioned as above at NY.

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REFERENCE Report of SA [] dated 3/20/58, at
NY.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description Received of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	File No. where Located
T-1 CG 5824-S*	Doing nothing for Party 2/17/58			100-56579- 3267
	Suggested for position National Org. Secty., CP 3/4/58			100-56579-3268
	Suggested for position as Org. Secty. or Tres. CP			100-56579-3276

T-2
NY 2179-S*

T-3
NY 2125-S*

T-4 [] USED TO DOCUMENT DANNY RUBEL

b7D

2 - Bureau (100-3284) (Encls. 8) (RM)

3 - New York (100-56579)

WLB
WLB:hr
(5)

WLB
100-56579-3293

NY 100-56579

The informants mentioned in the details of this report as having no knowledge of the subject are as follows:

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[redacted] contacted 8/7/58 by SA JAMES P. HALLERON

[redacted] contacted 8/7/58 by SA JAMES P. HALLERON

[redacted] contacted 8/8/58 by SA JAMES P. HALLERON

[redacted] contacted 8/8/58 by SA CHARLES W. CAVANAUGH

[redacted] contacted 8/8/58 by SA CHARLES W. CAVANAUGH

[redacted] contacted 8/11/58 by SA CHARLES W. CAVANAUGH

ADMINISTRATIVE

The pretext telephone call on 8/12/58, was made by SA [redacted] The nature of the pretext was an inquiry from a local bank.

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BART is a Smith Act subject, and the character Smith Act 1940 appears on the original Bureau copy of this report. NY is the Office of Origin.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report the activities of the subject.

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because (state reason) because the informant attributed T-3 tends to reflect the identity of a confidential informant of continuing value which would compromise the future effectiveness thereof.
8. ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) because attempts were made to interview BART on 4/11/58 and 6/5/58, at which time he refused to speak to the interviewing agents.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) because he attended the National CP Convention in NYC during February, 1957.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)
FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-32353)
SUBJECT: HCUA
NEW ENGLAND AREA

DATE: 7/16/58

Re WFO letter dated 6/11/58 and Bslet dated 7/10/58.

The following people mentioned in testimony of witnesses during the HCUA hearings, Boston, Mass. 3/18-21/58, reside in the area covered by the New York Office:

ISRAEL AMTER, PHILIP BART, ISIDORE BEGUN, [REDACTED] b6
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., HOWARD FAST, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, b7C
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JOHN GATES, MAX GORDON, ABNER GREEN, MARY
HIMOFF, MILTON HOWARD, [REDACTED] CARL MARZANI, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] PETTIS PERRY, ETHEL ROSENBERG, JULIUS ROSENBERG, MAUD
RUSSELL, [REDACTED] JOSEPH STAROBIN,
FLORENCE TAMSKY, HERMAN TAMSKY, IRVING VELSON, DOXEY WILKERSON.

The following people mentioned in testimony of witnesses during HCUA hearings at Boston, Mass., reside in the area covered by the Newark Office:

EMIL ASHER, KITTY HECK, JAMES J. MATTES, MARTHA STONE.

New York and Newark are requested to follow the instructions of the Bureau as set forth in referenced WFO letter with regard to the above-named persons who were mentioned in testimony during the proceedings of the HCUA at Boston, Mass. b7D

In addition, the name of LOUIS BUDENZ was also mentioned in the testimony of ARMANDO PENHA, former [REDACTED] on 3/19/58 while testifying before the HCUA at Boston, Mass. ("Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area" - Part II, pages 2279, 2280).

cc: 2 - Bureau (61-7582)(RM)
(29) - New York (RM)
2 (HCUA, N. E. Area)
27 (List of persons, pg. 1-A)
6 - Newark (RM)
2 (HCUA, N. E. Area)
4 (List of persons, pg. 1-A)
1 - Boston (100-32353)

RHB:RW
(38)

100-56579-3294

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 17 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

b6
b7C

WLB

BS 100-32353

cc: New York Office:

ISRAEL AMTER ✓
✓ PHILIP BART ✓
ISIDORE BEGUN
[REDACTED]

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
HOWARD FAST
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
JOHN GATES
MAX GORDON
ABNER GREEN
MARY HIMOFF
MILTON HOWARD
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

CARL MARZANI
[REDACTED]

PETTIS PERRY
ETHEL ROSENBERG
JULIUS ROSENBERG
MAUD RUSSELL
[REDACTED]

JOSEPH STAROBIN
FLORENCE TAMSKY
HERMAN TAMSKY
IRVING VELSON
DOXEY WILKERSON

Newark Office:

EMIL ASHER
KITTY HECK
JAMES J. MATTES
MARTHA STONE

BS 100-32353)

For the information of the New York Office, LEONARD B. BOUDIN and MARY KAUFMAN acted as attorneys for several of the witnesses who appeared before the HCUA at Boston, Mass. and have been Subjects of a Bureau investigation.

Names of these witnesses appear in the leaflet captioned, "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area, Part I, Part II and Part III", copies of which were furnished to the New York Office and Newark Office by referenced WFO letter.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-56579)

DATE: September 10, 1958

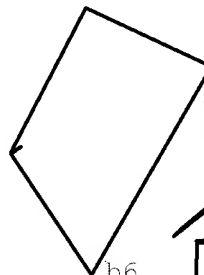
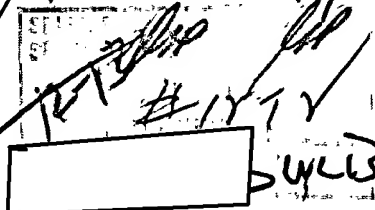
FROM : Director, FBI (100-3284)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART
SECURITY MATTER - C
SMITH ACT OF 1940

Reurlet August 27, 1958 transmitting
the report of Special Agent [redacted] in
the captioned case.

b6
b7C

Relet did not include "Smith Act of
1940" in the caption. In order to facilitate
routing of mail at the Bureau future correspondence
in this case should carry "Smith Act of 1940" in
the caption.

b6
b7C

CUB

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

9/5/58

SAC, CHICAGO (100-2644)

PHIL BART
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT COMPLETE PARAPHRASING BE UTILIZED IN THE EVENT THIS INFORMATION IS INCORPORATED IN A REPORT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

CG 5824-S*, on August 25, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several Dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [redacted] This transcription is located in Chicago file A/134-46-4589. The information appearing on the following pages is contained in this transcription, and pertains to a discussion with PHIL and CONNIE BART in New York City on August 21, 1958.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

④ - New York (REGISTERED)

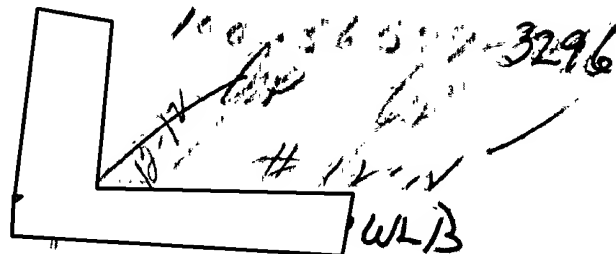
- (1 - 100-12959) (CONNIE BART)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-8957) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#7-5)

2 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46-4589)

JHK/kw
(8)

b6
b7C



August 25, 1958

A discussion was held with PHIL and CONNIE BART on Thursday evening, August 21, 1958, in which PHIL BART stated that he will have three weeks of vacation starting the third week in September, and that he will utilize this time to look for another job which will pay more money, since he now has experience. CONNIE BART said that she had her vacation during the first part of July. She is still employed in the same place and will hold on to this job because there is nothing better available at the present time.

CONNIE BART had indicated, in an aside, that problems existed in connection with PHIL's Party activities.

PHIL BART said that although he was asked once during the last four months whether he would take some full time position in the Communist Party - USA, and that while someone had told him that ROBERT THOMPSON said that someone would see him soon, no one from the National Office had seen him in all of these months. BART said that he was dissatisfied, unhappy, fidgety, nervous, and everything else.

Sympathy was expressed and BART was told that the people in the National Office are crazy and idiotic for not utilizing his energies. He was told that some of the people in the leadership of the Party do not have any human consideration and that once you are removed a few blocks from them, they will not see you unless you can serve their purposes.

BART was further told that recently EUGENE DENNIS had gone over a number of names of old-timers in regard to co-ordinating the old and the new cadre. BART was told that DENNIS specifically asked that he be contacted in order to obtain his opinion about taking part in some phase of the leadership of the Party. BART was further told that DENNIS is very much interested in what BART is doing.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

Now, this discussion with PHIL BART was very difficult. I can understand his genuine feelings. I am not excusing his ideological ideas. I think that it would be far better if he had reached the stage where he would break with the ideas of Communism, as some people did when they began to think about personalities in the Party and the lack of human feeling and human relationships. Unless one is an active politician and can deliver the goods in the form of votes for this or that ambitious leader, you are cast aside. BART knows that many of the present leaders in the Communist Party -- USA are incapable and that some of them are even dishonest. Since he has occupied many leading positions in the Party in the past, this neglect is hurting him. While he feels this way, he has not yet arrived at a stage -- not yet, in any case -- where he would part with the Communists.

Now, this was a very difficult task for me to defend the Party leadership. It will be recalled that BART was the first real leader of the underground who was sent to see me. We had a couple of days of sessions under certain circumstances and at that time he talked to me as I talked to him on this occasion. The situation in the Party is far worse now than it was at that time. At that time, they were at least cohesive and united and I think the underground kept the Party that way. I know how I felt, despite my reasons for meeting with him, which were altogether different reasons from those I had when I met with him on this occasion. I am not sure that he is convinced. We agreed that in a few weeks, I will see him and we will work out some things in connection with his activities in the Party. In the meantime, I will transmit his feelings to EUGENE DENNIS to see what the Party leadership has to offer.

Incidentally, the Party leadership is also interested in CONNIE BART. They would like to find something for her to do in the Party. I want to again state that this was a terrible experience for me, since I had to defend the Communist Party and a Party leadership which I know deserves nothing but condemnation. Yet, I could not talk to PHIL BART about ideological matters. This is the only way you can separate people from the Party. You cannot just separate them organizationally. You have to get them to part with all this old baggage which they picked up while in the Party and which weighs them down. So, I had a few sleepless hours as a result of this discussion.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

10/6/58

SAC, CHICAGO (100-2644)

PHIL BART
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

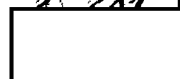
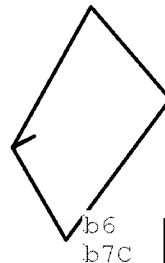
Re Chicago letter dated September 5, 1958; and re Bulet dated September 18, 1958.

Referenced Chicago letter set forth information from CG 5824-S* that PHIL BART was dissatisfied with his treatment by the Communist Party - USA.

CG 5824-S*, on September 30, 1958, orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING. This oral information was reduced to writing on October 1, 1958:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- ② - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) *renewed mil*
 - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kw
(6)



100-56579-3297

WLB

September 30, 1958

PHIL BART, during the week of September 14, 1958, and again on September 22, 1958, stated that he had recently had a discussion with EUGENE DENNIS and that DENNIS offered him a full-time assignment in the Communist Party - USA, but did not go into any details. BART said that he was scheduled to meet with DENNIS again on Thursday, September 25, 1958. BART also stated that he has become active in a Communist Party club.

While BART was using part of his vacation during the week of September 21, 1958, to look for a new job which would give him more pay, he was not as dissatisfied and disgruntled with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA as he had been during recent conversations. It might be said that BART's thinking in regard to the Communist Party - USA is back in the old groove now that the leadership has shown some interest in him and has offered him a Party assignment.

The Chicago Division would like to point out that while CG 5824-S* would like to influence the thinking of BART away from the Communist Party, since CG 5824-S* is currently identified with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA, he has to defend that leadership in conversations with Communist Party members so as not to endanger his status.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)

FROM: SA MARTIN J. HACKETHAL (#7-6)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT
IS - C

DATE: 10/13/58

On the evening of 9/26/58, SAs FRANKLIN Z. BAGDY and MARTIN J. HACKETHAL attended the 39th Anniversary celebration of the Communist Party held at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and 7th Avenue, NYC.

- 1 - NY 100-128804 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-YOUTH) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CPUSA) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-128815 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-NEGRO QUESTION) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-115575 (PEOPLE'S RIGHTS PARTY) (#7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-128812 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-128823 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-128805 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-WOMENS MATTERS) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-120215 (LILLIAN IMMERMAN) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-58535 (CONSTANTINE RADZIE) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-88546 (MANNIA RADZIE) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-13527 (DAVE SALES) (#12-13)
- 1 - NY 100-88013 (SOPHIE NASCIMENTO) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (#12-12)
- 1 - NY 100-12959 (CONNIE BART) (#12-12)
- 1 - NY 100-102944 (STANLEY LUBKA) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-50094 (ESTHER CANTOR) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-54555 (EVELYN WIENER) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-85936 (PEARL LAWS) (#12-12)
- 1 - NY 100-99369 (ALLEN LAWS) (#12-12)
- 1 - NY 100-134174 [REDACTED] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-79025 (MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN) (#7-5)

COPIES CONTINUED

MJH:mmg

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100-56579-3298

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NY 100-26603

ATTENDANCE

The estimated attendance was between 1,000 and 1,300 persons. Of these, over 50 per cent was female, mostly elderly persons and a very small per cent of Negroes were observed in attendance. There was a group of 35 to 40 youths in one section of the balcony.

The following persons were observed by these Special Agents as being in attendance in the audience:

LILLIAN IMMERMAN
CONSTANTINE RADZIE
MANNIA RADZIE
JAMES JACKSON
DAVID SALES
SOPHIE NASCIMENTO

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (#7-6)
1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-50842 (OAKLEY JOHNSON) (#12-15)
1 - NY 100-26776 (CHARLES DIRBA) (#12-15)
1 - NY 100-45462 (ROSE BARON) (#12-14)
1 - NY 100-102136 [REDACTED] (#17-15)
1 - NY 100-111048 [REDACTED] (#12-12)
1 - NY 100-104554 (CLARA SHAVELSON) (#12-12)
1 - NY 100-9756 (SADIE VAN VEEN AMTER) (#12-14)
1 - NY 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-93665 (MIMI FRIEDLANDER) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-60640 (HAROLD GOLLING) (#7-6)
1 - NY 100-13472 (GIL GREEN) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-91308 (PHIL BONOSKI) (#12-15)
1 - NY 100-128314 (CP, USA * NY DISTRICT FUNDS) (#7-6)
1 - NY 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z FOSTER) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-133698 (WINSTON - GREEN AMNESTY COMMITTEE) (#7-1)

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b7c

NY 100-26603

(PHIL BART
CONNIE BART
STANLEY LUBKA
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
[REDACTED]

EVELYN WIENER
PEARL LAWS
ALLEN LAWS
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The following persons were present on the stage
at Carnegie Hall:

BILL ALBERTSON
MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN
EUGENE DENNIS
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
ROBERT THOMPSON
ARNOLD JOHNSON
WILLIAM PATTERSON
OAKLEY JOHNSON
CHARLES DIRBA

The following individuals were introduced as
being present by WILLIAM ALBERTSON:

ROSE BARON
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

CLARA SHAVELSON
JAMES DOLSEN
SADIE VAN VEEN AMTER
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

MIMI FRIEDLANDER and HAROLD COLLINS were on the
stage during the latter part of the program.

NY 100-26603

OPENING REMARKS BY WILLIAM ALBERTSON

The meeting was started at 8:30 p.m. with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. WILLIAM ALBERTSON, who acted as Chairman for the entire meeting was the first speaker. ALBERTSON briefly reviewed the history and highlights of the Communist Party, USA.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

ALBERTSON then introduced ARNOLD JOHNSON as the Chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the CP. JOHNSON spoke concerning the status of the struggle to secure amnesty for HENRY WINSTON and GIL GREEN, pointing out another trail was now open to secure the release of the pair, since both were now eligible for parole. JOHNSON urged that telegrams be sent to President EISENHOWER requesting amnesty for GREEN and WINSTON and likewise to the US Board of Parole requesting a hearing for the pair. Following this ALBERTSON announced that this meeting would send such telegrams.

GREETINGS FROM THE VARIOUS CPs

ALBERTSON then read messages of greetings from other Communist Parties, including the Central Committee of Argentina and other Latin American countries. He also read a lengthy letter from the CP Youth of Cuba addressed to the CP youth of the US.

EUGENE DENNIS

ALBERTSON next introduced EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary, CP, USA, who was given a standing ovation. DENNIS' remarks dealt largely with the Formosa situation. He attacked American policy in this regard stating that the whole situation stemmed from American imperialism. He denounced EISENHOWER, DULLES, TRUMAN, and "the Military clique" as being responsible for dragging the US to the "brink of a nuclear war." He stated that the slogan "No troops to Quemoy" should be adopted. DENNIS concluded by urging the continued building of the CP, USA.

NY 100-26603

BILL ALBERTSON then read a letter of greetings from the CP of China.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

ALBERTSON next announced a five minute tape recorded speech by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, President Emeritus, CP, USA, and was remorseful that FOSTER could not be present due to his illness.

FOSTER briefly reviewed the history of the CP and stated that the party was on its way back. FOSTER's voice sounded strong and his speech did not falter although it was slow at the beginning and slightly slurred.

INTRODUCTION OF CHARTER MEMBERS AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS

ALBERTSON next introduced some of the charter members of the CP, who were present and other individuals who had been "outstanding fighters" for various causes in the past. The names of these individuals are set forth in the beginning of this memorandum.

COLLECTION FOR BENJAMIN DAVIS CAMPAIGN

Next on the program was a collection for the BENJAMIN J. DAVIS for State Senator Campaign. ALBERTSON noted that the CP could not take up such a collection; however, in return for contributions the donor would "buy a copy of the CP State Platform", a four page pamphlet. Contributions of \$50.00 on down to any amount were asked for. The Special Agents estimated that over \$1,000.00 was collected. During the collection ALBERTSON read a letter of greetings from the CP of India.

NY 100-26603

MILDRED MC ADORY

The next speaker was MILDRED MC ADORY, introduced as the Secretary of the BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Campaign Committee. MC ADORY decried the fact that over 5,000 signatures on the nominating petition for DAVIS had been invalidated by the "Democratic and Republican controlled Board of Elections. She charged Tammany Hall with interfering with the will and right of the people of Harlem to run a candidate of their choice. MC ADORY noted that through the DAVIS Campaign the CP had recruited some new members especially among the youth. She also announced that a write in campaign for DAVIS would begin on 9/28/58 at the DAVIS Harlem Headquarters.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

ALBERTSON then introduced BEN DAVIS who was given a standing ovation somewhat more enthusiastic than that given to DENNIS.

DAVIS gave a vociferous speech. He began by attacking the EISENHOWER "wait and see" policy in regard to school integration in the South. He stated that because of this EISENHOWER was "not fit to be President ----- and ought to be impeached". In this same vein DAVIS stated that they ought to put FAUBUS and EASTLAND in jail and let WINSTON and GREEN out."

DAVIS urged that a union of Negroes, white and labor was needed to struggle for desegregation, immediately, stating that the "Jim Crow system in America has to go and its got to go now."

Commenting on the CP, DAVIS expressed the belief that the party was rebuilding and was becoming better and that in the future it would reach its objective, Socialism. DAVIS stated that "We must have a fighting Communist Party because what is a Communist Party that will not fight?" He concluded stating that the

NY 100-26603

CP was for peacefull transition to Socialism, however, "if the people in Washington want to push us into a nuclear war it will mark the end of Jim Crow in America and the end of capitalism ." With this remark DAVIS ended and received the warmest applause of any of the speakers.

The remainder of the program was taken up with a dramatic presentation written by PHIL BONOSKI, which included MIMI FRIEDLANDER and HAROLD COLLINS. This was generally received with an air of apathy.

The program concluded at approximately 10:55 p.m.

Upon departing one elderly lady was overheard commenting on the program that "it was too long."

Information concerning JAMES DOLSEN's presence at this affair is being made the subject of a separate letter to Pittsburgh.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)(112-12) OCT 14 1958
FROM : SA ROBERT S. MUGAVIN
SUBJECT: *PHIL BART*
SM-C

[redacted] advised on 9/27/58 that the 39th Anniversary Celebration of the CP, USA and BEN DAVIS Election Rally was held at Carnegie Hall, NYC, on 9/26/58. The advertisement for above affair which appeared in "The Worker", 9/21/58, page 14, reflected it was under the auspices of the Communist Party of New York and that it would commence at 8:00 pm. b7D

On 9/26/58, SAs JOHN B. COULTON, ROBERT S. MUGAVIN and ROBERT D. SHEA conducted a physical surveillance of Carnegie Hall. Individuals noted as entering were observed during the period from 7:00 pm to 9:30 pm. Individuals noted as leaving were observed during the period from 10:45 pm. to 11:30 pm.

Above Captioned subject was observed by:

Special Agent
MUGAVIN

Entering-Leaving
ENTERING

Surveillance log is located in NY 100-26603-
Sub G.

251 RSM:rm

100-56579-3299 ✓

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OCT 14 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] *Wap*

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM ** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 10/23/58

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF
A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on October 20, 1958, orally furnished to
SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This
oral information was reduced to writing on October 22, 1958.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

5 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (#12-12)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- (1 - 100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN) (#12-11)

2 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)

JEK
JEK/kw
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Not incl.
Not pnd

100-57577-3360

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October 20, 1958

It has been learned that on October 13, 1958, PHIL BART went to see EUGENE DENNIS at the latter's request, and they had a conversation lasting approximately three and one-half hours.

Subsequently, PHIL BART stated that this was the longest conversation he had ever had with EUGENE DENNIS. BART said that he told DENNIS not to type him as a finance man in the Communist Party. He said that he had also complained to DENNIS that he had received only one-half hour notice before he was called to attend a meeting at which he had been offered the job of Business Manager for "The Worker".

BART also said that his wife, CONNIE BART, was offered a position as a Section leader of a Section in Brooklyn, but turned down this offer since she did not want to work under CHARLIE LOMAN.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

It is believed that PHIL BART would take any assignment in the leadership of the Communist Party - USA which is offered to him. It is also believed that PHIL BART will be offered an assignment by DENNIS, since DENNIS spent so much time with him. If these possibilities materialize, then it is also possible that CONNIE BART will be offered and will accept some Party position.

It is further believed that it would be to our advantage to have the BARTs in a position where they can obtain current Communist Party information, since this information will be passed along.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-12959)

10/29/58

SA JAMES E. REILLY

CONNIE BART
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 2353-S*

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date: 10/13/58

NY 2353-S* advised that on 10/13/58, CONNIE (BART) was in contact with (SYLVIA HALL), JEAN (SMITH) and PHIL (BART) *et CP Hq. etc.* PHIL advised that he was still busy. CONNIE explained about the place she wanted to go to in downtown Brooklyn possibly closing and she told PHIL that she was going to leave now. She told PHIL she would go and take care of what she has to and come back so that PHIL doesn't have to rush.

In the event this information is used in a report, it should be suitably paraphrased in order not to compromise the informant.

- 1- New York (100-100351) (SYLVIA HALL) (7-5)
- 1- New York (100-68934) (JEAN SMITH) (12-12)
- ~~1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)~~
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (12-12)
- 1- New York (100-12959) (12-12)

JER:gms
(4)

100-56579-3301
12-12-58
[Redacted Box] WLB
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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

DATE: 10/31/58

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#7-5)

b6
b7CSUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS
INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND
SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 10/16/58, NY 2362-S* advised that on above date EUGENE DENNIS had a discussion with JIM (believed to be JIM JACKSON) at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. According to the informant, the discussion pertained to general CP activities.

DENNIS stated in effect that "they" are having a problem with (DURHAM?) who is chairman of the Youth Commission.

According to informant, JIM (JACKSON?) said he had heard that GENE had talked to (PHIL) BART. DENNIS

- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-80643) (CP, USA-Youth Matters) (#7-5)
- ① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
- 1 - New York (100-68400) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA, Funds) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-Factionalism) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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b7CHCO:jn
(10)b6
b7C

100-56579-3302

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[REDACTED] WLB

NY 100-80641

said that he had spoken to him and that it was "fruitful" and that he believed that "he" would come to accepting an assignment... DENNIS said that he had given him (BART) a picture of the Party.

Informant advised that the individual believed to be JAMES JACKSON then wrote on the blackboard and referred to MAX WEISS. DENNIS said "he" (WEISS) gets \$60.00 a week. In answer to JACKSON's query as to whether [redacted] was working, DENNIS said that he understood that she was working and that they have a kid going to college.

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b7c

Informant advised that they also discussed briefly the fact that JOHN GATES' new book will be out soon. DENNIS, believed referring to the Party Program, said that some things should be removed from the "arena of debate..." "I" think that something like 15000 words should do it.

Continuing, this informant further advised that later on the same date EUGENE DENNIS had a brief meeting with an individual whose identity was unknown to the informant.

According to the informant, DENNIS mentioned the weekend conference (revisionist group meeting of 10/11,12/58) and said that they could not reach an agreement on an organization or a publication, but they did agree on a group for correspondence.

The unknown individual asked if (JOHN) GATES was at the meeting and DENNIS replied "we were told he was not there..."

The above is set out for informational purposes.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 10/29/58

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS
INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY
PLACED INFORMANT.

On 10/13/58, NY 2362-S* advised of a discussion
which took place in the office of EUGENE DENNIS at CP
Headquarters, NYC.

According to the informant DENNIS was discussing
with an individual whose identity was not known to the

- Noted*
- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
 - (1-100-3-88)(CP, USA-Factionalism)
 - (1-100-3-89)(CP, USA-Strategy in Industry)
 - 1 - Chicago (Info)(RM)
 - 2 - New Haven (Info)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (SID TAYLOR)
 - 3 - Newark (Info)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (MARTHA STONE)
 - (1-100-) (PAT TOOHEY)
 - 3 - Philadelphia (Info)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (JOE ROBERTS)
 - (1-100-) (PHIL BART)
 - 2 - Pittsburgh (Info)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (STEVE NELSON)
 - 4 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
 - (1-100-) (MICKEY LIMA)
 - (1-100-) (DOROTHY HEALY)
 - 1 - New York (100-89590)(CP, USA-Strategy in Industry)(#7-5)
 - 1 - New York (100-135320)(Independent Socialist Party)(#7-3)
 - 1 - New York (100-13473)(SI GERSON)(#7-5)
 - 1 - New York (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#7-5)
 - 1 - New York (100-23825)(BEN DAVIS)(#7-5)
 - 1 - New York (100-80641)
- (COPIES CONTINUED)

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(33)
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b7c

100-56879-3303

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DWLP

NY 100-80641

(COPIES CONTINUED)

1 - New York (100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(#7-5)
1 - New York (100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#7-5)
① - New York (100-56579)(PHIL BART)(#7-5)
1 - New York (100-19679)(ISIDORE WOFSY)(#7-5)
1 - New York (100-56)(MIKE DAVIDOW)(#7-6)
1 - New York (100-9352)(A. B. MAGIL)(#7-1)
1 - New York (100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)(#7-5)
1 - New York (100-25780)(CORLISS LAMONT)(#7-1)

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informant, the situation with regard to the revisionist group in the CP. The unknown individual said "we" noticed that there is a crack in their ranks. If they want to repudiate the agreement which was in writing then okay. "We'll" have to take our chances on bringing some of these people back. DENNIS mentioned that he had been talking to SI (GERSON) on the telephone and that he had said to GERSON that he understood that GERSON had been invited to "the gathering" and had rejected the invitation. The unknown male then mentioned that no one else came forward voluntarily and that none of them had volunteered the information (that they had been invited to the same gathering). The unknown male then asked DENNIS whether he had a copy of the resolution "you're" going to put out. DENNIS replied that he could get one from JACK (STACHEL). The unknown male then said that he would like to take DENNIS' copy with him and DENNIS said that it was not in shape. The unknown male then commented "in no uncertain terms we should criticize the right and come out with a statement." He said "we've" got to somehow or other make people understand. The unknown male then in continuing his comments used the added security of the blackboard. Among other things he mentioned "these are not rank and filers-these are responsible people." He said that these people know what they're doing and they're not going to compromise. He then mentioned that PAT (TOOHEY) was telling "us" what happened in NJ at the meeting last Wednesday when they discussed MARTHA's (STONE) resignation.

The first individual who had been talking to DENNIS left his office and another unidentified male entered and continued the discussion with DENNIS. This individual said that he has a feeling that there hasn't been an adequate struggle ideologically in the Party. He said that he knew that he was speaking for a number of people-good people and "they're still shaking." He said people get consolation from the ideological struggle and concentration on a world scale. He said that confidence must be won back. DENNIS agreed with what this individual had said and said that since February an important beginning has been made in putting the Party on the track of mass work. To illustrate his point DENNIS pointed out that the DAVIS campaign is a

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very positive aspect and that in Ohio the Party is up to its neck in all kinds of activity. He pointed out that this was quite a change "if you compare it with a year or two ago." DENNIS continued that in NY the leadership is making lots of efforts and in Chicago the Party's work is being expanded in united front activities. DENNIS then added "great progress is being made all over with the youth." DENNIS then spoke of the ultra-left and indicated that the Pittsburgh area presents quite a problem and that the situation in Philadelphia isn't clear yet. He mentioned that JOE(ROBERTS?) only gave nominal leadership and it was claimed that the NC was a front for the NEC.

During the conversation another individual, believed by the informant to be PHIL BART, entered the office and joined the discussion. DENNIS mentioned that "The Worker" increased its sales during July and August. DENNIS, continuing with a discussion of the situation in the Party, said that NJ in the last couple of months organized three shop clubs and reconstituted two county committees. He said that in Chicago "he's" got one of the best sections in the whole district and that the great majority of the membership are active in community organizations. The informant believed that the reference may have been to FRED FINE because DENNIS followed this statement by saying "FRED hasn't made up his mind what he is going to do. He is sort of teetering on the brink." (It is noted that there has been some indication that FRED FINE may be associating himself with the revisionists.) DENNIS continued that all he could say is that it is a sort of permanent opposition in respect to the National Committee and "I" don't think there's any indication "he is" (apparently FRED FINE) going to do what others have done. "He is" bitter- "he" believes the left has taken over the Party. The individual believed to be PHIL BART then mentioned that there had been three crises in the Party and mentioned the years 1929, 1945 and 1956 and indicated that these crises were due to the ideological problem.

In the ensuing discussion it appeared that the individual believed to be PHIL BART and DENNIS were concerned with the situation in Philadelphia. The individual believed

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to be BART then asked "what is STEVE doing?" and DENNIS replied that he was extremely cynical and that he understood that when asked to participate in the conference of the right he had refused. DENNIS described him as one of the permanent oppositionists and commented "he forgets that when the committee acts the decision is pointing on everybody. I'd say that the best chance for him is to take him out of Pittsburgh." Since the reference was to a STEVE from Pittsburgh the informant believed that it was to STEVE NELSON.

The individual believed to be PHIL BART mentioned what a serious blow it is to the Party when there is the loss of a trained cadre. Then apparently talking about the situation in the past he said that there were a number of forces that could have been mobilized for the Party if there had been a fight to mobilize. He said that actually the people had become demoralized. This individual then mentioned that he had received a telephone call on Friday night from (ISIDORE?) WOFSEY and that WOFSEY had told him that he, WOFSEY, has to report back to the comrades. This individual then mentioned that he considers it a problem for anyone to work full time in Party activities and still hold another job. He said "I've got a job-so it's a lousy job-what can happen to me can happen to many others." He continued that he had met SID TAYLOR at a meeting and that SID had said "PHIL I wasn't in favor of registration (one and one half years?) ago."

The individual believed to be PHIL BART said that he was unhappy politically and that to travel and work he put in a 12 to 18 hour day. DENNIS then asked if he wanted to stay in NY and BART replied "it's hard for us to move. We have never been able to have a home of our own. I was dreaming about going to California last year, but that wasn't in connection with work." DENNIS asked BART if he could get to Philadelphia soon noting "we have delayed too long" and that you can't remain indifferent when an organization is disintegrating. BART replied that he would try to make it in the next two or three weeks.

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During the ensuing discussion it appeared that BART would be going to Philadelphia on a Friday night and would remain on the following Saturday and Sunday. After BART left, MIKE DAVIDOW had a discussion with DENNIS. DAVIDOW mentioned that at the last meeting "we" (believed referring to the Industrial Section) had ESTHER (CANTOR?) give a report which was negative. He said that the main question he feels is how "we" are going to re-establish relations with people who once followed "us." He mentioned that the Trotskyites had stepped in and complicated the problem. DENNIS then said that when "we" discussed the election situation generally three weeks ago "I" proposed that a committee be set up that really campaigns and organizes meetings. Such a committee would do more to isolate those who are using (CORLISS) LAMONT...for something else. DENNIS then asked DAVIDOW "how are things in your division generally?" DAVIDOW replied that "we've" begun to devote ourselves to tactical problems. By and large "we're" at the elementary stage of development. DAVIDOW said that there is a greater awareness of "our" position outside of "our" ranks. DAVIDOW then using the blackboard said "take for example this bunch" and continued "they're in it and they've never ceased being part of this bunch. In worse periods, the McCarthy...and others, they never deviated." DAVIDOW continued his discussion along this line, but because of the use of the blackboard the informant was unable to determine the details of his discussion. In conclusion, DAVIDOW said "we've lost tremendously in our cadre throughout and good cadre can't be replaced overnight." DENNIS asked "has there been any growth?" and DAVIDOW said here (blackboard) "we" have completely regained Party position among all those guys who were formerly to the right. What they lost is primarily here (blackboard)..."completely wiped out." DENNIS asked DAVIDOW whether the comrades liked the labor policy statements and DAVIDOW said that "they liked the final product."

After DAVIDOW had left DENNIS' office, DENNIS and ROBERT THOMPSON discussed the situation in the Party. DENNIS mentioned to THOMPSON that he had spoken with SI (GERSON) on the telephone and that GERSON had told him about his

NY 100-80641

invitation to the meeting of the right and that SI had also told him that he understood (WILLIAM) SCHNEIDERMAN and (A. B. MAGIL?) had been approached. DENNIS commented that he thought that it would be well to send NEC members a little note informing them of the latest resignations and the fact that there was a conference (of the revisionists).

There followed some discussion concerning the agenda for the next NEC meeting and during the discussion THOMPSON mentioned that "LAMONT is off the ballot" and that the indication is that the Independent Socialist ticket has been ruled off the ballot. THOMPSON then asked about the California situation and DENNIS said "well it appears to me it is going from bad to worse." He continued that MICKEY (LIMA) agreed to hold up the execution of those things indicating on the blackboard what things were involved. DENNIS then indicated that it would be better if the three NEC members out there (apparently referring to California) were to get together and settle this thing long before the NC. THOMPSON asked "well do you think we ought to sit tight?" and DENNIS replied "well MICKEY said this was going to be put on the shelf. I thought we'd await results of his trip."

JAMES JACKSON entered DENNIS' office and joined the discussion. THOMPSON greeted him with "I understand you are very successful on that Jersey trip JIM" and JACKSON replied that he had been, whereupon DENNIS asked "is the district going to move against the agent provocateurs?" The informant was unable to determine JACKSON's reply.

In windingup the discussion EUGENE DENNIS again mentioned the people from California and said that he wanted to check the position of some of those like (WILLIAM) SCHNEIDERMAN and (DOROTHY) HEALEY to see what their position is now in relation to what it was before.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, DETROIT

DATE: 10/31/58

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-87211)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - FACTIONALISM
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 1704-S* (Conceal and paraphrase)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past

NY 1704-S* advised that on 10/16/58, EUGENE DENNIS, SR. contacted PHIL (BART). PHIL told DENNIS that "it" was held in the McAlpin Hotel but doesn't know what name was used. DENNIS said he understands that there were about 30 there and it was a question of organizing something permanently and a publication but there was too much disagreement on that. He said they are going to work as a committee of correspondents.

PHIL said it was held for 2 days at the McAlpin and the attendance was somewhere between 30 and 50. Sunday GEORGE CHARNEY was chairman and the main question that day was organization. The people that gave leadership to the 2 sides were SID (STEIN), who led for the side of immediate organization, while CELESTE (STRACK KAPLAN), who was in,

2- Detroit (RM)

(1- 100- SAUL WELLMAN)

1- Chicago (100- CP, USA - Factionalism) (Info) (RM)

1- Philadelphia (100- CP, USA - Factionalism) (Info) (RM)

1- Pittsburgh (100- STEVE NELSON) (RM)

1- San Francisco (100- CELESTE STRACK KAPLAN) (RM)

1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (7-5)

1- New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (7-6)

1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)

1- New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN) (7-5)

1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (7-5)

1- New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (7-5)

1- New York (100-9308) (HERB WHEELDIN) (12-15)

1- New York (100-87211)

HER:gms

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100-56579-330H

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NY 100-87211

led the opposition to such an idea believing that there is no chance of creating such a thing nationally at this time, and there are different levels of developments and opinion in different parts of the country, so there should be no effort to establish something like that.

PHIL advised SAUL WELLMAN was there from Detroit. He said there was a discussion on the economic question and the speaker dealt with the article in PA. by (HY) LUMER and said while they cannot agree or draw any conclusions for places (ph) we should not ignore these opinions.

PHIL said he doesn't know what happened previously or what reports there might have been. He then said a number of people spoke but he hasn't been able to find out the sides.

DENNIS asked if there was anyone there from New England. PHIL said he did not know but was informed that (JOHN) GATES and STEVE (NELSON) were not there.

PHIL said he was told that there were a few Negroes present but HERB (WHEELDIN) was not among them.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-32825)

FROM : SA JEREMIAH W. DOYLE

SUBJECT: CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C

DATE: 10/20/58

On 9/29/58, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA JEREMIAH W. DOYLE of the following. This information was dictated on 10/1/58 into statement form, typed by Stenographer [redacted] on 10/2/58, and was then read and initialed by the Informant on 10/3/58. It is maintained in [redacted] and reads as follows:

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6 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

1 - (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

1 - 65-5604 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)

1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)

1 - 100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS)

1 - [redacted] b6

1 - [redacted] b7C

1 - (HARRY WILLIAMS)

25 - Philadelphia

1 - 100-32825

1 - 100-33050 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)

1 - 100-41849 [redacted]

1 - 100-41881 [redacted]

1 - 100-22157 (PHIL BART)

1 - 100-485 (ARCHIE COLEMAN)

1 - 100-37636 (BENJAMIN DAVIS)

1 - 100-35375 (HIRAM DAVIS)

1 - 100-22603 (JAMES DOLSEN)

1 - 100-28841 (FRANCES GABOW)

1 - 100-41319 [redacted]

1 - 100-41460 [redacted]

1 - 100-19904 [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - 100-28331 (HARRY WILLIAMS)

SEE PAGE TWO

JWD:rdc
(31)

INDEXED: [redacted]

100-56579-3305

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FBI - PHILADELPHIA	

PH 100-32825

25 - Philadelphia (Cont'd)

1 - 100-33636 (CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
1 - 100-33150 (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM)
1 - 100-30295 (CPUSA-FUNDS)
1 - 100-33143 (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - 100-30941 (CPUSA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - [] SUB A []

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"Philadelphia, Pa.
September 29, 1958

"On []

[]
[] to attend the 39th Anniversary Celebration of the CPUSA at Carnegie Hall, New York City, which was held on the evening of September 26, 1958. []

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"At the time of the group's arrival, Carnegie Hall was well filled and [] group had to sit in the third balcony. An audience estimated between 3,000 and 4,000 was present at the affair, admission to which affair was one dollar.

"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was the principal speaker and he criticized both the Democrats and the Republicans and particularly Tammany Hall Democrats for forcing DAVIS' name off the ballot for the forthcoming New York elections. DAVIS is a candidate for the New York State Assembly but his nomination papers were declared invalid because the signatures of the voters on these nominating papers were declared illegible.

"DAVIS urged the people in the audience to go from door to door to arouse the people in Harlem to force

"the politicians at Foley Square to place DAVIS' name on the ballot. DAVIS also requested volunteers to assist in office work, such as mailings, etc., at DAVIS' campaign headquarters.

"DAVIS criticized President EISENHOWER and the U. S. State Department for the U. S. policy towards China. He said that the U. S. was running the risk of a third world war which would be an atomic war by using American troops in Quemoy. DAVIS also said that both EISENHOWER and DULLES should be impeached. DAVIS declared that the time has long passed when the U. S. should send boys to die on foreign battle fields to uphold President EISENHOWER's prestige. DAVIS urged that letters be sent to President EISENHOWER and to Congressmen, urging the removal of troops from Quemoy. According to DAVIS, the trouble between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists amounts to a Chinese civil war and that the United States has no right to intervene in such a Chinese civil war. DAVIS said that the Chinese civil war is similar to the American civil war between the north and the south in 1860, and that the American people of that time would have objected to England's intervention in the American Civil War just as much as the Chinese people now object to American intervention in the Chinese civil war.

"DAVIS concluded his speech by saying that the CP is being rebuilt into a fighting party around integration, solidarity for the working man, etc.

"DAVIS made no mention of the left factionalism which has been causing so _____ trouble in the CPUSA in recent months.

"The Chairman of the celebration BILL ALBERTSON followed DAVIS' speech with a request for financial contributions to DAVIS' political campaign. Donations of \$50.00 were first requested, then \$25.00, \$10.00, \$5.00, down to \$1.00 or silver. It appeared that a sizeable collection was taken up; however, the amount collected was not announced.

PH 100-32825

"A play or skit was performed towards the close of the program, which play was directed by HARRY WILLIAMS who used to be in Philadelphia. The cast of this play consisted of WILLIAMS, two other men, and a woman.

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"The celebration ended about 11:15 p.m.

"In addition to those in [] party, the following individuals from Philadelphia were observed at the celebration:

"SARGE DAVIS

JAMES DOLSEN, who was on the stage and was introduced as having been the first secretary of the CP in California in 1919.

FRANCES GABOW

[]

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ARCHIE COLEMAN

[]

"PHIL BART, former CP District official in Philadelphia, was also observed at the celebration.

"Following the celebration, []

[]

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PH 100-32825

[] is described as follows:

"Race:	White
Sex:	Male
Age:	23 (by his own statement)
Height:	5'11"
Weight:	175
Build:	Medium
Hair:	Sandy, curly; cut short but not quite a crew cut.
Complexion:	Light, clean-shaven.
Eyes:	Unknown; does not wear glasses.

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[] also said that he was a member of the CP
Youth Commission in New York City."

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9365)

11/6/58

SA

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
IS-C
SA-40
ISA-50

Source of Information	NY 1697-S*
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Date of Activity	10/13 and 15/58

If the following information is used in a report or otherwise disseminated, it must be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

On October 13, 1958, NY 1697-S* advised that on that date, MORRIS CHILDS visited FOSTER and FOSTER told him about his illness. FOSTER brought up the issue of the factional fight in the Party, stating that a split occurred in April, 1956. He also mentioned the split to the right after the resignation of (JOHN) GATES. FOSTER remarked about the chief errors of the past period and the principle danger during the Cold War. He also referred to the right danger.

CHILDS mentioned FOSTER's letter to the National Convention (probably the letter on building and strengthening the Party), stating he had read it and could agree to a harder fight, a more decisive fight against the right.

1-New York (100-87211) (CP, USA Factionalist) (7-5)
1-New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (7-5)
1-New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)
1-New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (7-1)
1-New York (100-56579) (PHILBART) (12-4) / 100-56579-3306
1-New York (100-20128) (ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN) (7-4)
1-New York (100-15149) (TIM BUCK) (6)
1-New York (100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (7-5)
1-New York (100-9365)

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NY 100-9365

FOSTER commented that JOHN GATES had written the Political Action Association in October, which he was against, and that GATES saw he was going to be defeated at the convention on that question. FOSTER stated that that was what the convention turned on, that it was the heart of the convention, and that they had to "smash" the Association. FOSTER also mentioned a motion of the Central Committee called the Name and Form (ph) saying that they had proposed that the matter (Political Action Association) should be laid over. CHILDS stated that they had rejected the idea of a Political Association and FOSTER replied that they did not, but said that it should be laid over and no vote taken. He stated that that was the danger, that the middle group was not "killed."

CHILDS later mentioned that he is concerned about the Party and its future and that they are making progress and are rebuilding the Party despite the Right Wing. He told FOSTER of the meeting of the Right Wing that weekend. He also stated that various districts are making advances and mentioned specifically a banquet for amnesty held in Chicago the week previously, saying he had not seen anything like it in 10 or 12 years.

CHILDS then referred to good Party members whom the Party lost and raised the question of how they are going to bring them back and how they are going to rebuild with these forces without "characterizing."

CHILDS stated that he thought that they should critically review the past period. He stated that what was important was how to unite the Party under a Marxist-Leninist program, and how the Party can go forward and take advantage of the situation. FOSTER stated that certain things were no good to "rehash" and mentioned unfortunate quarrels between themselves.

FOSTER subsequently remarked that one person that

NY 100-9365

he is really disappointed in, in the fight, (factional dispute) is MAX WEISS. He stated he thought that MAX (WEISS) "was one of the standouts" He stated that he thought that MAX would "survive the thing." CHILDS told him that MAX had split with the people he was associated with but that he is still in the Party. FOSTER stated that he would like to see him if it would do any good. CHILDS replied that he thought it would be good and that he blames the people in the National Office "for not going to see some of these people."

CHILDS also related that PHIL BART (ph) had been up to the National Office that day regarding doing some work and FOSTER replied "Phil Bart's all right." FOSTER commented that he wants to see (ALEXANDER) BITTLEMAN.

CHILDS subsequently told FOSTER he was going to see (TIM) BUCK in a few days and that he would give him FOSTER's regards. He stated that he would tell him (BUCK) about FOSTER because he always asks. CHILDS also remarked that the main line unity is the important thing and FOSTER agreed.

The conversation again reverted to MAX WEISS when FOSTER stated that he should be saved. CHILDS advised him that he should say something about that in general and not just about MAX WEISS, especially now that they know which way the Right is going. FOSTER replied that he was going to see GENE (DENNIS) and that they could not "give these people up to the counter revolution..."

NY 1697-S advised on October 15, 1958, that on that date, FOSTER told JACK SHULMAN that he was disappointed in MAX WEISS (ph) who was the head of the underground. FOSTER stated that he thought he would stand up and fight for the Party when the pressure was on. He stated that he is not out of the Party but that he is demoralized. FOSTER also commented

NY 100-9365

that he refuses to believe that all of the fellows who have left the Party are "rotten."

SAC, NEW YORK (100-8057)

11/12/58

SA ROBERT G. OFTEDAL

EUGENE DENNIS
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 1704-S*

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date: 11/4/58

NY 1704-S* has reported that on 11/4/58, GENE(DENNIS) was in contact with CONNIE and PHIL (BART). GENE told PHIL that he waited for him 1½ hours yesterday (11/3/58). PHIL said he thought CONNIE had told him maybe Monday or possibly Wednesday. They agreed to get together Thursday (11/6/58) between 5:15 and 5:30.

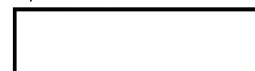
PHIL mentioned that he was out looking for a job that day.

In the event this information is used in a report, it should be suitably paraphrased in order not to compromise the informant.

- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (415)

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(3)

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b7C



WLB

100-56579-3307
#415

VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARD

MEMORANDUM RE:

PHILIP BART, was
100-56579

Office File

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

Residence: Apt. 14B, 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York

Employment: Pandick Press Incorporated

Address: 22 Thames Street
New York, New York

Key Facility ☐ Yes ☒ No

Security Flash ☒ Yes ☐ No

Detcom ☒ Yes ☐ No

Photo ☒ Yes ☐ No

Bklyn. #67

It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record.

A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial

Residence: Same

Method of Verification: Pretext to

Neighborhood Source: Subj. (Pretext: sales piter)

Date: 1/23/59

Verified by SA: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Employment: Same

Address:

Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ No

Date Checked:

Geographical Reference Number:

Tab Detcom: ☐ Yes ☒ No

Method of Verification: Pretext to

Employment Source: [redacted]

Date: 2/2/59

Verified by SA: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau:

☐ Yes ☒ No

File Reviewed

☒ Subject Meets SI Criteria
☐ Does Not Meet SI Criteria

Agents Initials: WLB

Date: 2/2/59

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
NOV 13 1958
FBI-NEW YORK

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Horton Phom
BU 7-7744

WLB
J. J. [unclear] [unclear]
12/2/58

11/17/58

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)
SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CO 5824-3 advised SA ALEXANDER C. DURLINSON on 11/17/58, that in a conference on 11/16/58 with PHIL EART, the latter stated that he is being pressed by EUGENE DENNIS and ROBERT THOMPSON to become the CP, USA, National Organizational Secretary. EART indicated that he is giving serious consideration to the proposal, but that as yet he is unable to decide whether to accept.

According to CO 5824-3, EART, as Organizational Secretary, would handle certain functions such as finances now controlled by THOMPSON as Executive Secretary.

FOSTER

- 3 - BUREAU (100-3-69)(RM)
- 2 - CHICAGO (100-33741)(CP, USA, Organization)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 134-46)(CO 5824-3)
- 1 - NY 66-6989 (415)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
- 1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)(415)
- 1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL EART)(422)
- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA, Funds)(415)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

DEC 4 1958

ACB:mfd (415)
(12)

(1 - Supervisor J. J. KEARNEY)

100-56579-3309

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-20769)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 11/26 /58

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on November 24, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on November 26, 1958.

This information pertains primarily to individuals in the New York District of the Communist Party - USA.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

16 - New York (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization) (#7-6)

(1 - 100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (#12-12)

(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)

(1 - 100-64061) (JACK CHILDS) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-93796) (PEGGY DENNIS)

(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-) (KATHY FLYNN)

(1 - 100-49149) (MORRIS GAINER) (#7-6)

(1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (#12-11)

(1 - 100-) (FRIEDA HOWARD)

(1 - 100-53177) (MILTON HOWARD)

(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY)

(1 - 100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)

2 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kw
(20)

100-56579-3310

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 1 1958	
NEW YORK	

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b7c

November 24, 1958

LOUIS WEINSTOCK and MORRIS GAINER

LOUIS WEINSTOCK was present at a social or reception in honor of KATHY FLYNN held at the residence of EUGENE and PEGGY DENNIS on Saturday evening, November 15, 1958. WEINSTOCK was also present in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA on Thursday, November 20, 1958.

WEINSTOCK stated that he has a painting job and is working for a contractor who paints schools. WEINSTOCK said that he carries a permit, but cannot carry a union card or participate in union elections because he is a Communist Party member. WEINSTOCK stated that MORRIS GAINER has put him on the spot. He explained that because GAINER quit the Communist Party and publicly denounced Communism, the Executive of the Painters Local will make GAINER a full fledged member of the Painters Union. WEINSTOCK commented that GAINER is not as popular with the other union members as he, WEINSTOCK, because they regard GAINER as a renegade and respect WEINSTOCK for sticking to his beliefs.

KATHY and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

PEGGY and EUGENE DENNIS held a social or reception in honor of KATHY FLYNN at their residence on Saturday night, November 15, 1958. KATHY FLYNN was planning to go to Nigeria to visit her daughter; however, she suffered a stroke after the social. Because of KATHY's illness, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stayed at home with her and missed the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA held from November 18 to 20, 1958.

MILTON and FRIEDA HOWARD

One night during the week of November 16, 1958, MILTON and FRIEDA HOWARD were accidentally met as they returned from a concert. It is noted that MILTON HOWARD was the Associate Editor of the "Daily Worker" for approximately fifteen years and was also the Editor of "Mainstream". He is an intellectual and a very gifted writer.

MILTON HOWARD said that he is still unemployed. He is trying to get a job writing either about music or medicine. He said that he is living on unemployment compensation. FRIEDA HOWARD is employed.

When asked where he stood in regard to the Communist Party, HOWARD replied that he has "one foot in the Communist Party". He said that he did not resign from the Party, but that apparently the Communist Party is not interested in him. He said that actually he does not know whether the Party considers him a member or not, and that he is not assigned to any club.

PHIL and CONNIE BART

PHIL and CONNIE BART were at the social or reception for KATHY FLYNN at the residence of EUGENE DENNIS on Saturday evening, November 15, 1958. A discussion was also held with them at their residence on Sunday evening, November 16, 1958.

PHIL BART stated that he is now assigned to an industrial club. CONNIE BART said that she is a representative from her Section to the County Committee in Brooklyn.

PHIL BART said that he had a long discussion with EUGENE DENNIS and ROBERT THOMPSON and they offered him the post of National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA. BART said he replied that he would think about it. On November 16, 1958, he stated that he was still thinking it over and that he feared that BOB THOMPSON would try to use him for his personal advantage if he accepts this position.

JIM TORMEY and BETTY GANNETT

PHIL BART said that JIM TORMEY had a good job selling meat wholesale, but he quit this job. BART said he was very surprised to hear this, but TORMEY told him that he wanted to move to California. BART complained that TORMEY is a Stalinist and he states that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV is a revisionist.

BART stated that he had learned that TORMEY had visited JACK CHILDS in an effort to borrow a few thousand dollars in order to make a trip to California. BART said he doubts that BETTY GANNETT is aware of this.

According to BART, BETTY GANNETT has a good job, but she is constantly complaining that she is being mistreated by the Communist Party and that her talents are not being utilized by the Party. BART said that because of her constant complaining, it is all but impossible to talk with her.

F B I

Date: 12/16/58

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)
SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS - C

NY 694-S* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 12/15/58, that in a meeting on Friday evening, 12/12/58, with ROBERT THOMPSON, CP, USA, Executive Secretary, the latter furnished the following information:

THOMPSON anticipates returning to jail within two weeks to complete his sentence, his recent appeal having been denied. In this event, THOMPSON's duties, which include the functions of Executive Secretary and Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA, will be divided between two individuals. Upon termination of GUS HALL's parole period in April, 1959, the latter

6 - BUREAU (100-3-69)(RM)
 (1 - 100-52444) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
 (1 - 100-) (MILTON ROSEN)
 (1 - 100-) (GUS HALL)
2 - BUFFALO (100-) (CP, USA, Organization)(Info)(RM)
 (1 - 100-11933) (MILTON ROSEN)
2 - CHICAGO (134-46) (CG 5824-S)(Info)(RM)
 (1 - 100-33741) (CP, USA, Organization)
1 - CLEVELAND (100-) (GUS HALL)(Info)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA, Funds)(415)
1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)(415)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(415)
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(422)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-8529 (MARY KAUFMAN)(424)
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

ACB:mfd (415)
(21)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
(Special Agent in Charge)

100-56579-3311

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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NY 100-80641

will assume THOMPSON's post of Executive Secretary. It has been agreed that the person best qualified to assume THOMPSON's duties as Organizational Secretary and National Office Administrator is "Milt" (Probably MILTON ROSEN) "a live-wire Buffalo functionary."

With reference to "MILT", THOMPSON said it was "good to bring in a young person, with new blood and enthusiasm, since PHIL BART is too old in thinking and enthusiasm."

NY 694-S* received the impression from THOMPSON that the appointment of HALL is assured, having been agreed upon unanimously by top CP functionaries, and that the appointment of "MILT" may still be controversial, DENNIS possibly favoring the appointment of PHIL BART as Organizational Secretary.

THOMPSON told NY 694-S* that until such time as HALL assumes the Executive Secretaryship, the informant should contact EUGENE DENNIS regarding matters of mutual interest to THOMPSON and NY 694-S*. Such matters, THOMPSON instructed, should not be discussed with "MILT."

NY 694-S* stated that undoubtedly, in this connection, THOMPSON had in mind money which he had given to the informant to hold for him as a depository, said money having no relation to the CP, USA, Reserve Fund. THOMPSON originally had deposited with the informant about \$12,000.00, \$5900.00 of which has been returned to him.

THOMPSON requested that NY 694-S* "take care of" MARY KAUFMAN, THOMPSON's attorney, and to assist her in every way possible should she decide to go abroad. NY 694-S* promised to do so provided EUGENE DENNIS approve whatever the informant might suggest in that regard.

THOMPSON also requested that NY 694-S* "keep an eye on" his daughter and provide her with any extra funds she might need, particularly her tuition. He said he would arrange a meeting between his daughter and the informant in the immediate future.

NY 100-80641

THOMPSON said that, judging from the recent NC meeting, he considered there is unity in the Party, and that everything would "work out well" if DENNIS would go out of his way "to get along with" BEN DAVIS, JR. THOMPSON said that he himself had gone out of his way "to get along with" DENNIS and JAMES JACKSON.

THOMPSON expressed the opinion that the time will soon be opportune to move the CP National Office to Chicago. He commented, "We don't talk about it openly."

FOSTER

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT : CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 1/26/59

On 12/4/58 NY2379-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that PHIL and CONNIE BART visited the apartment of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. The ensuing conversation dealt mainly with various CP matters and personalities.

They discussed the recent book by JOHN GATES, with FLYNN commenting that ALLAN MAX undoubtedly wrote it for GATES. She said that from reading it one would think that no one but JOHN GATES had gone to Spain. She said that

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (CARL WINTER) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - NED SPARKS)
 - (1 - CELESTE KAPLAN)
- 20 - New York (100-80641)
 - (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
 - (1 - 100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (422)
 - (1 - 109-17923) (JOHN GATES) (415)
 - (1 - 100-14859) (ALLAN MAX) (424)
 - (1 - 100-74560) (CP FUNDS) (415)
 - (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
 - (1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
 - (1 - 100-87211) (CP FACTIONALISM) (415)
 - (1 - 100-91418) (JUNIOUS SCALES) (411)
 - (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
 - (1 - 100-27452) (BOB THOMPSON) (415)
 - (1 - 100-8057) (GENE DENNIS) (417)
 - (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (421)
 - (1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
 - (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE CHARNEY) (416)
 - (1 - 100-10980) (NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS) (411)
 - (1 - 97-169) (INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS) (415)
 - (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)

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1/27/59

100-56579-3312

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NY 100-80641

GATES never had any major responsibility in the Party until he went to the "Daily Worker" and then all of a sudden he became an international figure.

Concerning CP funds ELIZABETH commented that the Party has no bank account as such, and that they are always asking her to cash checks for them. She said that recently she was given a check made out to the CP from someone in Oregon, and that she had tried to cash it at a bank, but she was refused because the names of the responsible officers (of the CP) had to be on the check, and she had no authorization to cash a check for the CP.

The discussion then turned to the recent BEN DAVIS Political Campaign and ELIZABETH said that 'we' tried to call it off at the last moment through a 'public' announcement by DAVIS who had agreed to do it, but that the idea was rejected up in Harlem.

ELIZABETH went on to complain again about not being invited to speak during a campaign, noting that she had had DAVIS speak several times during her campaign of a year ago. She noted that not one white woman had been invited to speak during the DAVIS Campaign.

ELIZABETH said that she had told ARNOLD JOHNSON that he had abandoned the National Office and the amnesty campaign and everything else (for the DAVIS Campaign) and that DAVIS has him in his hip pocket.

PHIL and CONNIE BART then brought up the JUNIUS SCALES case and the fact that ARNOLD does not seem to give anything over to the defense campaign for SCALES.

NY 100-80641

ELIZABETH said that the same was true of BEN DAVIS who has not done a thing about the Winston Campaign and so nothing could be expected of him in regard to SCALES either. She complained that she was the only one presently writing articles in behalf of amnesty and in comparison said that FOSTER just keeps writing those G-- D--- articles of recapitulation. She said that the Party will never heal the wounds with that "kind of junk." She said that the Party has lost hundreds and thousands of people, but that people like FOSTER did not seem to realize it. She commented that "this organization is sick".

ELIZABETH also went on to say that if BOB THOMPSON has to return to prison she hopes that the Party brings CARL WINTER to New York to replace him, and also noted that at the present time there is no one in charge of work in the labor field. She said the original proposal was to bring in CARL WINTER which might help create a new atmosphere in the National Office.

CONNIE BART then remarked that she thought that when BOB THOMPSON got out of jail he would have learned a lesson but that he is still arrogant and bureaucratic.

PHIL BART then mentioned a discussion he had recently with GENE DENNIS about his giving full time to Party work. BART told DENNIS that his personal preference would be not to go back as a full time functionary, but that if it was necessary for the Party he would. He wanted it made clear, however, that he would not go back in a capacity where he would just be a leader in name, and that he feels that he could contribute as much as many people in the organization, but under no circumstances wants to hold a position in name only.

ELIZABETH remarked that what the Party needs is an orderly which BOB THOMPSON is not, and said that at least SID STEIN in spite of the fact she hates his guts, was a real leader.

NY 100-80641

ELIZABETH said that BOB travelled recently throughout the country making a survey and then delivered a terrible report on his findings.

In regard to HY LUMER, FLYNN made the statement that he has no more understanding of youth than he has of playing a piano.

FLYNN and PHIL BART also discussed FOSTER's going to Russia and both agreed that the idea was ridiculous, since it would look like he was going over for advice before the next convention.

Concerning the present Party membership, PHIL BART remarked that the membership is the smallest since the Party was founded and that both he and ELIZABETH agreed that BOB THOMPSON does not understand the situation that he has sense of other people's personal feelings, but not of other people's political feelings.

The BARTS and ELIZABETH then went on to discuss the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with ELIZABETH commenting that "they" don't bother her any more and have not been in the neighborhood for a long time.

BART related how two FBI men had recently attempted to interview him in the lobby of his office building but he had refused to talk with them, and has not been bothered since.

BART also mentioned that he is presently in the printing business and ELIZABETH noted that this is a field that many comrades entered, adding that she understands that GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY is a salesman in the printing business and is presently going to printing school.

NY 100-80641

She commented that CHARNEY never really belonged to the CP (but was a member in name only).

PHIL BART noted that JUNIUS SCALES works with him and that while he was never a real leader, is not a bad person.

The BARTS and FLYNN went on to discuss reasons why people leave the CP and all then criticized BEN DAVIS and they agreed that he wants to control the Party as chairman, but that GENE DENNIS won't let him come in.

They also discussed NED SPARKS, with ELIZABETH remarking that he had been very rude to her during her recent trip to California. She said that SPARKS and HY LUMER almost came to blows recently because NED has CELESTE (KAPLAN) on his Program Committee and that LUMER could not understand how this could be.

Regarding the publishing field, ELIZABETH told BART that New Century is a complete loss and BART questioned the purpose of International Publishers, which he says prints nothing and does not even have a book.

ELIZABETH also discussed her refusal to take the post as editor of the "Worker" because she did not intend to sit at a desk and give advice like the previous editor (JOHN GATES).

ELIZABETH said that some of the guys were very resentful of her refusal, but that she won their respect by telling them she did not feel she was capable for the job.

NY 100-80641

PHIL BART also mentioned JACK STACHEL and how he used to have a lot of respect for him, but that in past years, because of his shenanigans he lost all respect for STACHEL. ELIZABETH agreed.

The remaining conversation between the BARTS and FLYNN dealt mainly with the recent elections.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC New York

FROM : Chester A. Rilly, S.A.

SUBJECT: Philip Bart, aka
S. M. - C.

DATE: 2/3/59

100-56579

Rebulet 11/18/59 instructing that persons contacted under the Toplev program be considered for re-interview.

Bart was [redacted] when approached on 6/5/58. He since was considered by CPUSA for the positions of Org. Secretary or Treasurer but did not get the appointment apparently because of his age.

He resides at 2415 Newkirk Ave, B'klyn and is employed by Parlick Press, 22 Thame St.

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This case is assigned to S.A. [redacted] #422.

It is suggested that a lead be assigned to the writer for the purpose of an interview with him under the Toplev program.

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cc [redacted] (Inv) 41

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100-56579-33B

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FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] [initials]

2/11/59

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
CINAL

On 2/10/59, NY 2359-S* advised that the regularly scheduled resident NEC, CP, USA meeting was held at CP headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NYC, on the above date. According to the informant, the meeting concerned itself primarily with the Party Program with a report by JAMES ALLEN.

Those in attendance were EUGENE DENNIS, JAMES ALLEN, JACK STACHEL, IRVING POTASH, ARNOLD JOHNSON, ROBERT THOMPSON, HY LUMER, HUNTER FITTS O'DELL, BERT NELSON, and possibly others.

Informant advised that JAMES ALLEN stated that he had asked for this discussion on the Party Program. He explained how in previous discussions it had been decided to concentrate on a preparation of a statement of basic principles which would be available for discussion and which would be placed before the next Party convention.

ALLEN stated that this problem could be divided into eleven sections:

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GARRETT) (411)
① - NY 100-56579 (PHIL LART) (422)
1 - NY 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN) (411)
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

HCO'C:msb (415)
(9)

1 - SUP. JOHN KEARNEY (415)
1 -

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100 56579-3314

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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422

AIRTEL

NY 100-80641

Section 1 and 2 (combined) - Internal and World Contribution to U. S. Democracy.

Section 3 - Labor Problems of Peaceful Coexistence.

Section 4 - How the Party Can Probe the Working-Class Out and Present Themselves in the U. S. on the...Problems of Immediate and Long-Range Program in Relation to This New Concept.

Section 5 - Current Extension of Democracy.

Section 6 - Class Alignments.

Section 7 - Political Realignments.

Section 8 - Common Program of a United Front.

Section 9 - Reformism in the Labor Movement.

Section 10 - Socialist Extension in the U. S.

Section 11 - The Party.

4 above, ALLEN stated that discussion would be held on Section

ALLEN pointed out that there are many possible roads to socialism. He said there has also been a marked transition in American monopoly development; the role of the working-class and its alliances will determine the shape of the anti-monopoly struggle in the U. S. He said the Party should state clearly their position in regards to effecting an anti-monopoly coalition.

AIRTEL

NY 100-80641

Continuing, AL said that progress for the Negro in the South could be made through their right to vote and representation. He said this eliminates the remnants of the plantation system in the South. He said another form of socialist reform could be put forth in a struggle to curb the action of monopoly with respect to labor conditions and government monopoly.

ROBERT THOMPSON stated that the basic change in world relationships affects mass work. He said one of the questions which is faced by the Party is whether reforms may not have different relationships in state and official aspirations than they have had in other areas. THOMPSON noted that AL raised the danger of Fascist movements and felt this question should be placed more centrally. THOMPSON felt that the strength of the socialist forces in the world, even at present, would make it impossible for the imperialists to launch a war.

IRVING POTASH stated that the Party Program was well defined and that questions were bound to arise now and then, but this could be worked out.

IRVING LUMER stated that they should examine some of the issues created by the peaceful transition to socialism. He also pointed out that the trend of the post-war period has been toward the strengthening of the executive branch of the government. He said this is an element towards the development of Fascism. LUMER felt that the question of "paralyzing" monopoly is a question which frequently becomes the subject of debate, and he cautioned the Party on how this question was presented.

JACK STACHEL stated that the issue of the struggle for the fight for peace becomes at this point very important and should be a major responsibility of the Party. He felt

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NY 100-86641

their main strategy aim should be a labor form of anti-monopoly coalition.

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL stated that there should be some mention of a re-evaluation of state's rights in their program.

EUGENE DENNIS commented that ALLEN's report was good and he agreed with many of the comrades that they should not get into a "battle of words." DENNIS felt that in the section related to industry there could be some treatment of KHRUSHCHEV's report on the 7-year plan in the Soviet Union. DENNIS urged the forming of a new statement on the level of development of the anti-monopoly coalition, the role of the working-class and its leaders in this coalition.

DENNIS stated that they should have a new approach to this Party Program problem at the next meeting. (Informant believed that the next meeting is scheduled for 3/3/59.)

Informant advised that DENNIS also made the statement that the next National Committee meeting should be held in New York.

Following DENNIS, there was a discussion concerning the possible Party posts for BETTY (GARNETT ?) and PHIL BART. Informant, however, was unable to determine if anything definite was decided in this regard.

FOSTER

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 2/18/59	Investigative Period 2/2-2/55
TITLE OF CASE PHILIP BART		Report made by SA 	Typed By: jrc
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C <div style="text-align: right;">b6 b7C</div>	

Synopsis:

REFERENCE: NY report of SA 8/27/58.

-P-

LEADS

NEW YORK DIVISION

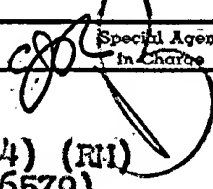
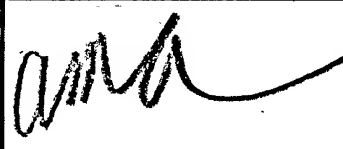
At New York, New York

SAC authority was requested on 2/3/59, to reinterview the subject under the Toplev program. NY will follow this request and if authority is granted to interview the subject will advise the Bureau of the results of that reinterview.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location of File

Approved T-1 to CG 5824-S*	Special Agent in Charge 	Chicago file A/134-46-4589 <small>Do not write in spaces below</small>
Copies made: 4- Bureau (100-3284) (RM) 3- New York (100-56579) <i>WLB</i> <i>jrc</i>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">100-56579-3315  cc sent to Cleveland</div>

NY 100-56579

INFORMANTS (cont'd)

Identity of
Source

File No. Where Located

100-56579-3297

100-56579-3309

100-56579-3110

100-56579-3312

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NY T-2

[REDACTED]

Philadelphia file [REDACTED]

NY T-3

NY 1697-S*

NY T-4

NY 694-S*

100-56579-3311

Careful consideration has been given to the sources concealed in the report and T-symbols have been utilized only in those instances where the identity of the sources must be concealed.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BART is a Smith Act subject and the character Smith Act, 1940 appears on the original Bureau copy of this report. New York is the office of origin.

-A-
COVER PAGE

NY 100-56579

ADMINISTRATIVE (cont'd)

The SAs who observed PHIL BART on 3/26/58, were FRANKLIN E. BAGDY and [REDACTED]

The pretext telephone call on 1/29/59, was made by SA [REDACTED] The nature of the pretext was a sales pitch.

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The pretext telephone call on 2/2/59, was made by SA [REDACTED] The nature of the pretext was that of a bank official with correspondence he wished to send to PHILIP BART in care of his employer.

NY 100-36579

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because (state reason)
the information attributed to T-1 tends to reveal the identity of a confidential informant of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of whom would compromise the future effectiveness thereof.
8. ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
subject was recommended for reinterview under the Toplev program on 2/3/59.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
He attended the national CP convention in NYC during February, 1957.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-14-2012

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

SA

2/18/59

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Office:

NEW YORK

File Number:

Bufile 100-3284
New York 100-56579

Title:

PHILLIP BART

Character:

SECURITY MATTER-C

Synopsis:

BART, residing at 2415 Nowkirk Ave., Apt. 40, Bklyn., NY, as of 1/29/59, and employed at Pandick Press Inc., 22 Thames St., NY, NY, as of 2/2/59. BART under consideration for party position in CP. Attended 39th Anniversary Celebration of CP during September, 1958. Assigned to Industrial Club as of November, 1958.

-P-

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NY 100-56579

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND DATA

Residence

Through a pretext telephone call by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to telephone number BU 7-7744, listed to PHILIP BART, 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, on January 29, 1959, it was ascertained that BART resided at the above address with his wife CONNIE, in Apartment 4G.

Employment

Through a pretext telephone call by a Special Agent of the FBI on February 2, 1959, to telephone number WO 4-2900, listed to Pandick Press Inc., 22 Thames Street, New York, New York, it was ascertained that BART was employed by the above concern.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY MOVEMENT

CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Evidence of Communist Party (CP) Membership

NY T-1 advised on August 25, 1958, that as of August 21, 1958, plans were made which might lead to giving PHIL BART a full-time position in the CP.

NY T-1 advised on September 30, 1958, that PHIL BART stated on September 22, 1958, that he had been offered a full-time assignment in the CP, USA. BART also stated that he had been active in a CP club.

NY 100-56579

Special Agents of the FBI observed PHIL and CONNIE BART in attendance at the 30th Anniversary Celebration of the CP held at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, on September 26, 1958.

The advertisement for the above affair which appeared in "The Worker" on September 21, 1958, page 14, reflected that the celebration was under the auspices of the Communist Party of New York.

"The Worker" is a weekly Communist Party newspaper.

The fact that PHIL BART was in attendance at the above celebration was corroborated on September 29, 1958, by NY T-2.

NY T-3 advised on October 13, 1958, that on that date PHIL BART had been to the National Office of the CP, USA, regarding doing some work for the party.

NY T-1 advised on November 17, 1958, that on November 16, 1958, PHIL BART stated that he was being pressed to become CP, USA National Organizational Secretary. BART stated that he could not decide whether to accept this position or not.

NY T-1 advised on November 24, 1958, that on November 16, 1958, PHIL BART stated he was then assigned to an Industrial Club.

NY T-1 made information available on December 4, 1958, which reflected that on December 4, 1958, PHIL BART mentioned a discussion he had had recently about his giving full time to Party work. BART stated that his personal preference would be not to go back as a full time functionary but if it was necessary for the Party, he would. He wanted

NY 100-56579

it made clear; however, that he would not go back in a capacity where he would be a leader in name only.

NY T-4 advised on December 15, 1958, that on December 12, 1958, a national leader of the CP, USA stated that the job of Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA would probably go to someone other than PHIL BART as it was the opinion of certain party leaders that BART was too old in his thinking and enthusiasm to be allowed to accept the position. It was also stated that certain other CP leaders favored BART's assuming this position.



100-56579

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

New York, New York
February 18, 1959

Re: Philip Bart
Security Matter - C

All of the informants mentioned in the report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, have furnished reliable information in the past.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

4- Bureau (100-3284) (RM)
3- New York (100-56579)

WLB:ald
(7)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

Date: 2/24/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CLASSIFICATION BY 6076 on 11-20-78
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

On 1/19/59 NY 2379-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that PHIL and CONNIE BART visited the apartment of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

- 2- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 1- Buffalo (100- JOHN NOTO) (INFO) (RM)
- 2- Chicago (100- CP COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (INFO) (RM)
 - (1- SAM KUSHNER)
- 1- Los Angeles (100-4963) (PETTUS PERRY) (INFO) (RM)
- 3- Philadelphia (100-2427) (DAVE DAVIS) (INFO) (RM)
 - (1- 100-38020 JOE ROBERTS)
 - (1- 100- JOE KUZMA)
- 1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (416)
- 1- New York (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-26603-C43) (KINGS COUNTY CP) (422)
- 1- New York (100-52559) (CHARLIE LOMAN) (422)
- 1- New York (100-) (DAVE GREEN) (422)
- 1- New York (100-85936) (PEARL LAWES) (422)
- 1- New York (100-99369) (ALLEN LAWES) (422)
- 1- New York (100-87211) (CP FACTIONALISM) (415)
- 1- New York (100-) (CP COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80640) (CP NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
- 1- New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
- 1- New York (100-6622) (ANDY ONDA) (422)
- 1- New York (100-) (DORETTA TARMAN) (424)
- 1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (416)
- 1- New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-68063) (CLARA BODIAN) (424)
- 1- New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (GENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-91418) (JUNIUS SCALES) (426)
- 1- New York (100-) (EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (411))

COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

- 1- New York (100-80641) (415)

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100-56579-3316

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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The BARTS related that a meeting had taken place in Brooklyn concerning the CHARLIE LOMAN situation. At this meeting ALLEN (LAWES) reported that he had received a letter from Moscow (from LOMAN) and that CHARLIE mentioned how he was treated and that he had a (physical) check up. The BARTS said that DAVE GREEN had chaired the meeting and that after ALLEN, PEARL (LAWES) got up to say there was no minority report and she, as a member of the County Staff wasn't going to be (unintelligible).

CONNIE BART said that bedlam then broke out and that she made a motion to limit everyone to seven minutes. One person after another then got up ranting and raving. (Apparently referring to recent Kings County CP meeting concerning action to be taken against CHARLIE LOMAN).

The discussion then turned to Communists travelling and the fact that revisionists are breaking up the Party. PHIL BART said what is needed is a public discussion on the whole problem. ELIZABETH mentioned that BEN DAVIS would never go to bat for CHARLIE LOMAN nor would any white comrade. She explained that LOMAN had been told to come to a NEC meeting on a Tuesday to get permission to go on his trip but instead left Monday. She said that BILL FOSTER had a hand in it because CHARLIE went up to see BILL and got his permission to go. ELIZABETH said that FOSTER should have told LOMAN to go to the NEC meeting to obtain permission rather than give it to LOMAN himself.

BART agreed saying that FOSTER has given a lot of service, is a fine comrade but that he is an old comrade who can't look forward because he lives in the past. The discussion continued about FOSTER and his sudden idea of penetrating the Democratic Party which they feel is silly and also the fact that FOSTER does not want the National Office to

COPIES CONTINUED

1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1- New York (100-27452) (BOB THOMPSON) (415)
1- New York (100-91330) [REDACTED] (415)

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NY 100-80641

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move to Chicago. ELIZABETH said she shocked GENE DENNIS when she told him that the best thing for the Party would be if FOSTER died. The BARTS agreed with PHIL adding that FOSTER can't add any more to his fine record but can only tear it down.

The conversation then switched to the Brooklyn County CP and ELIZABETH said she had received a call from ANDY (ONDA). CONNIE mentioned that ANDY is against the leadership (Brooklyn CP). They then talked about some woman (PEARL LAWES) who is stirring up the Fur Workers. CONNIE said she is a complete maniac who caused a lot of trouble with the Fur Workers and that they wouldn't put her back in the Party.

ELIZABETH then raised the question as to how LOMAN obtained money for his trip. PHIL said that he went around collecting money and heard that LOMAN had gone to a [redacted] (ph) (to obtain money). ELIZABETH said that LOMAN has one son who is in Harvard University, that he is a son by LOMAN's first wife.

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They then discussed political differences in the Party and ELIZABETH remarked that one of the "wild ones" is DORETTA (TARMAN) who arranged an Amnesty Party (1/25/59) and didn't ask either her or ARNOLD JOHNSON but invited GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, WILLIAM PATTERSON, LOUIS BURNHAM, JOHN MC MANUS and JOE NORTH.

ELIZABETH continued that these people are suddenly interested in Amnesty because they are trying to get either (GIL) GREEN or (HENRY) WINSTON on their side. She said that if this matter had been initiated by someone out of the Party she wouldn't question it.

CONNIE inquired whether or not DORETTA (TARMAN) was out of the Party and ELIZABETH replied that she isn't because CLARA (BODIAN) mentioned to ELIZABETH that she (DORETTA) was still paying dues. PHIL BART commented that if people like this want to raise money and give it to them (CP) its okay but that he personally wouldn't work with CHARNEY.

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NY 100-80641

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They then discussed SI (GERSON) and all agreed that they like him and hope he can be saved (from leaving CP). CONNIE said that GERSON's mother had attended the County meeting the other night and stayed until 1 AM. ELIZABETH said that "we" (her and GENE DENNIS) tried to get SI to take positions of responsibility but that he refused to accept them.

PHIL BART then mentioned that DAVE (DAVIS) resigned from the (CPEP) District while JOE (ROBERTS) and (JOE) KUZMA resigned their posts but remained on the Committee.

The BARTS and FLYNN then brought up the question of JUNIUS SCALES with PHIL mentioning that SCALES had received a call from (JOHN) MC MANUS who said their campaign was now centered around the CARLISLE (ph) case and that as soon as it is out of the way SCALES' case would come next.

PHIL said that SCALES then got in touch with the ECLC and got the brush-off with no promises received because the case is theirs (CP). PHIL said the SCALES' case should be argued in the spring and that they had hoped to avoid argument until after the (JOHN) NOTO case could be combined with this case. ELIZABETH said that ARNOLD (JOHNSON) made a remark that the NOTO case was their fault because "they" pushed it.

They then discussed the recent visit of ANASTAS MIKOYAN to the US which ELIZABETH praised noting that MILOYAN stayed away from propaganda on the trip and didn't criticize the way of life over here. CONNIE then told that BEN DAVIS had read a letter from (MARTIN LUTHER) KING at a recent meeting and that apparently after KING had been attacked BEN had written to him and this letter was in reply. CONNIE said she placed no significance to KING's reply. ELIZABETH said that JIM JACKSON had criticized KING's book because there was some very sharp red-baiting in it. She said BEN was very much opposed to everything that JIM says and that he carries on a continuous attack against JIM. ELIZABETH remarked that she is glad BEN had been forced to take a stand on LOMAN so that JACKSON's stand on the matter would be upheld.

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Concerning the Negro question, PHIL said the situation in Brooklyn is that the Negroes are with the leftist group but questioned how many of them there actually were and just what connections they had with the Negro communities in Brooklyn. ELIZABETH commented that there has been a real upsurge of Negro nationalism in the Party and that BOB (THOMPSON) had presented a program which was well balanced. Following BOB's proposal BEN DAVIS made a speech and said that all of the (CP) activities for 1959 should be centered around the rights of Negroes. DAVIS was then followed by CHARLES O'DELL, substituting for JIM JACKSON, who followed right in line with DAVIS.

ELIZABETH feels that the CP should be concerned more with the workers which includes the Negro worker. She said the CP in 1959 should fight American imperialism on all fronts which would also include the struggle for the rights of Negro people, the struggle for the rights of labor and peace and the ultimate goal of their work - Socialism. She said the CP needs a well balanced program and that BEN is not presenting such a program. She added that BOB finally got some courage and agreed with her. ELIZABETH suggested that a meeting be held to discuss the issue and questioned whether they were an NAACP or a Communist Party.

ELIZABETH said that anyone who opposes this Negro Nationalism is accused of white chauvinism and that many people in Brooklyn have dropped out of the Party because they oppose LOMAN and the policy but don't want to fight, especially the Jewish comrades who don't want to be called white chauvinists. CONNIE said that some of them in Brooklyn like CHARLIE and (ALLEN) LAWES would like to turn it into a Party where the Negroes are in control. PHIL BART remarked that it is one thing to say that a Party is proud to be called a party of the Negro people but does this mean it would become a Negro Party which would not meet the needs of the people. CONNIE said this would be in conflict with the movement, that it would not be a Communist Party. PHIL agreed that there just couldn't be a Negro Communist Party. ELIZABETH said that if she gets a chance she is going to speak about Negro nationalism. PHIL remarked that the whole question of Negro rights was presented in such a way that no white person could say anything.

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ELIZABETH recalled that she was trying to set up an Amnesty committee and was called by PETTUS PERRY who told her she was not to ask a Negro in the Committee until he was consulted. He said that no Negro was to be asked to do anything in the Party unless he was consulted. He also questioned whether ELIZABETH was trying to take the best and most efficient Negro comrades out of Harlem and make them servants to white people. ELIZABETH's reply was that she wanted to name a person to the post of executive secretary of an international organization, an amnesty committee which would work for all of us.

ELIZABETH then stated that off the record, the real reason why PETTUS PERRY had it in for MARION BACKRACH was that she had rejected him when he was single and living in her house. As a result PERRY never forgave her and tried to drive her out of the Party. ELIZABETH said that PERRY had the idea he was the Commissar of the Negro cadre and that no one was to contact them without his consent. She said he is paid by the National Office and is supposed to be in charge of the national groups in California, Oregon, Washington and Colorado being responsible only to the National Office.

ELIZABETH continued to talk about PERRY saying she doesn't understand why nobody raised the question because PERRY has a criminal record, but no one ever brought it up because he is a Negro.

The conversation then turned in hushed tones to the SAM KUSHNER incident in Chicago with ELIZABETH mentioning that BOB THOMPSON had told her about it. PHIL BART in answer to ELIZABETH's question said that KUSHNER had bribed his way out and that if something like this ever happened to him he would not have been able to think like that (bribing). He mentioned that KUSHNER had nothing in his background that is wrong, that he is a lawyer like CHARNEY. FLYNN expressed surprise to hear that KUSHNER was a lawyer. They also discussed the underground movement but the informant could not clearly distinguish the details other than the fact that

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NY 100-80641

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BART was one of the first ones to come out of the underground movement and that the largest part of the movement had been in New York.

~~(C)~~ The remaining discussion concerning the coal mining district of Pennsylvania and that ELIZABETH would like to take a trip to that area as well as to Washington to meet JOHN L. LEWIS who she feels would be happy to see her.

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ATT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)
(100-3284)
ASST. DIRECTOR A. H. BELMONT
SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

3/5/59

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CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS-C

PHILIP BART
SM-C; SA 1940

ReBulet, 11/18/58, instructing that persons previously contacted under the Toplev Program be considered for reinterview.

BART was uncooperative when approached on 6/5/58. Recently BART was under consideration by the CP for the position of Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA, but it was reported that certain Party leaders thought BART too old in his thinking and enthusiasm for the position.

Interview with PHILIP BART

On 2/27/59, PHILIP BART was observed in the vicinity of his residence, 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn. He was approached in a secure location by SAS EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and CHESTER A. REILLY. When BART recognized the agents he became very excited and immediately turned away waving his arms. The agents walked with him for several steps and asked him if he would be willing to have a short talk with them. BART was very nervous and only shook his head saying "Leave me alone. I told you before I have nothing to say." BART again turned and crossed the street in an effort to break off the conversation.

In view of BART's unfavorable reaction the interview was terminated. No consideration is being given at this time for a recontact with BART under the Toplev Program.

2-Bureau (100-3-99)(RM)
(1-100-3284)

1-New York () (Inv.) b7D
1-New York (100-56579)

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100 - 56579 - 3317

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FBI - NEW YORK	

WMB

gcl
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

3/16/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

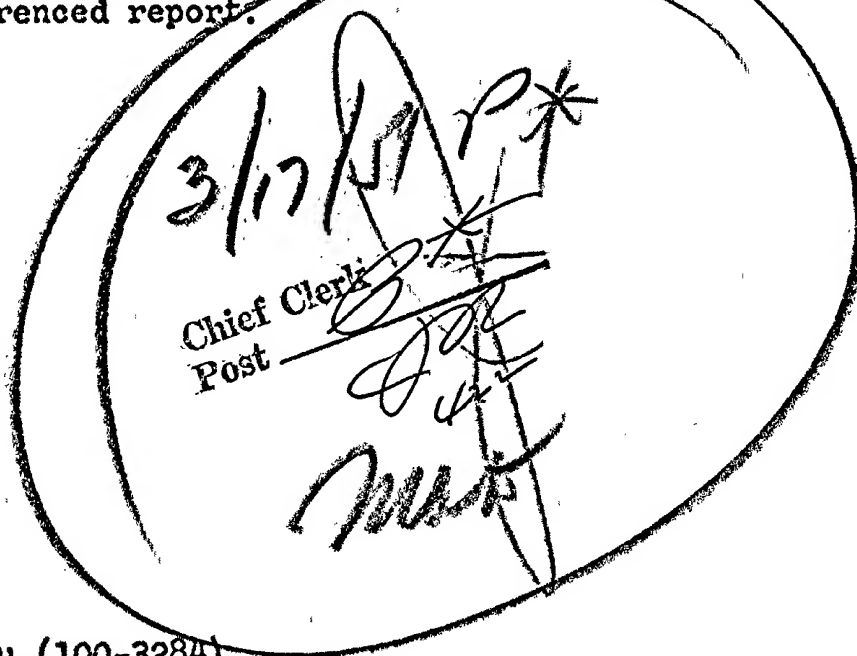
PHILIP BART
SM-C; SMITH ACT, 1940

Re NY report of SA 2/18/59, and NY letter to Director, FBI, 3/5/59.

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The only lead in referenced report was to advise the Bureau regarding the results of a contemplated SAC authority interview. The results of this interview were set forth in referenced letter.

As there are no other leads outstanding, this case is being placed in a pending inactive status in the NYO. A report will be submitted within six months from the date of referenced report.



wlb
2-Bureau (100-3284)
1-New York (100-56579)

WLB:ngb
(3)

100-56579-3318

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-15877)

3/31/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-8057)

EUGENE DENNIS
IS-C;
SA OF 40;
ISA OF 50

WEEKLY SUMMARY

The following is a summary of the subject's activities for the period 3/23/59 - 3/29/59.

According to the information furnished on 3/24/59 by NY 2362-S*, DENNIS was present at CP Headquarters that morning and stated he desired to confer briefly with BEN DAVIS concerning "youth."

Later, according to informant, he discussed youth matters with HY LUMER; funds and finances with an unidentified male; and later again met with LUMER concerning a statement LUMER had prepared concerning the last NEC meeting.

On 3/25/59 NY 2362-S* advised DENNIS had been present at CP Headquarters that morning and had dictated several letters to ELIZABETH GURLEY ELYNN, DOROTHY HEALY and others concerning the forthcoming meeting of the National Committee. At one point he reportedly commented, he expected to make a trip to Chicago "within a month."

Later that afternoon, according to NY 2362-S* and NY 2359-S*, a meeting of the resident NEC, CP, USA, was held at CP Headquarters.

Concerning this meeting, the informant reported the following:

2-Bureau (100-15877) (RM)
1-New York (100-80641) (CP, USA, Organization)
1-New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART)
1-New York (100-8057)

RGJ:jgJ
(5)

100-56579-3319

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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422 MAR 31 1958	
FBI NEW YORK	

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NY 100-8057

DENNIS was present and served as chairman of the meeting. Following discussions on the fund drive for "The Worker," youth matters, and a proposal for a report or conference on Latin America, DENNIS moved for a discussion for the drafting proposals on the National Convention. He announced a two day substantive discussion will be held on April 23-24, 1959, concerning the drafting committees for the NC and read a tentative list of personal preferences for service on various proposed committees. He suggested the committees be kept to a maximum of seven or less and made a proposal to the effect that all committees should be small working committees.

On 3/26/59 NY 2362-S* advised DENNIS had been present at CP Headquarters that afternoon and had discussed trade union matters with IRVING POTASH. During the discussion DENNIS mentioned (we) "have started to reach a meeting of the minds on youth."

Following a discussion with POTASH, DENNIS conferred with an unidentified male concerning committees for drafting convention resolutions. He stated in effect that he intended to work informally with all of these committees as some members haven't a grasp of what is to be accomplished. He indicated he has been contemplating setting up three committees outside New York and in that connection mentioned "set up one in Chicago and one in Cleveland."

Later DENNIS conferred with ARNOLD JOHNSON concerning legislative matters.

On 3/27/59 NY 1704-S* reported DENNIS had been in contact with PHIL BART that evening. The informant's information indicated DENNIS had previously discussed some sort of employment for BART, possibly with the CP National Office.

DENNIS indicated he desired to settle the matter and suggested BART confer with him on Monday evening (3/30/59). BART apparently raised the question

NY 100-8057

of the proposed move of the CP National Office to Chicago, stating he did not want to "pack up on a twenty-four hour notice." DENNIS indicated there had recently been a slight shift against the move. DENNIS' conversation indicated he desired BART to make up his mind concerning the job offer immediately, stating, "he" would not like to wait for the larger gathering (NC meeting) and would like to get together with you and start doing a lot of things we all want to do."

BART stated he is still "plugging" at his work but would not for reasons of his health continue in his present job. He commented, "name it and I will be available." At the conclusion of the conversation, BART jokingly inquired if he could go ahead and make application (for employment) and if they were offering the same or better working conditions he now has. DENNIS jokingly stated, "Oh, sure, treble time for overtime and a year off every ten, etc."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

DATE: 3/31/59

FROM : SA ROBERT G. OPTEDAL

SUBJECT: PHIL BART
IS - CIdentity of Informant: NY 1704-S* (Conceal and
paraphrase)Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date: 3/16/59

NY 1704-S* advised on 3/16/59 that EUGENE DENNIS had been in contact with PHIL BART on that day. BART advised he leaves for work very early in the mornings and finishes work at 4:45 pm. He stated further he has been working every weekend recently.

DENNIS stated he has been attempting to arrange a meeting for some time between himself and BART. They agree to meet "about 5:30 pm" the following day.

- 1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
①- New York (100-56579) (422)

RGO:gms

(2) *gms*

100-56579-3320

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F B I

Date 4/7/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

NY 1697-S* advised on 4/1/59, that
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR. visited WM. Z. FOSTER on that
date. According to the informant, FOSTER

- 6 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-76) (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
 - (1- 61-330) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 - (1- 100-149163) (BENJAMIS J. DAVIS JR.)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (MILT ROSEN)
- 5 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1- 100-) (MOLLIE WEST)
 - (1- 100-) (MORRIS CHILDS)
 - (1- 100-) (SAM KUSHNER)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (PAT TOUHEY)
- 3 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (TOM NABRIED)
 - (1- 100-) (TOM DENNIS)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
 - (1- 100-) (MICKEY LIMA)

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-80641) (#415)

JLF:mar
(52)

100-56579-3321

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SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

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b7C

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONTINUED

2 - Seattle (RM)

(1- 100-) (BERT NELSON)

1 - New York	(100-27452)	(ROBERT THOMPSON) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-18064)	(JACK STACHEL) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-1696)	(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-105078)	(HY LUMER) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-13444)	(JOE NORTH) (#422)
1 - New York	(100-25623)	(ERIC BERT) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-48033)	(IRVING POTASH) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-16021)	(ARNOLD JOHNSON) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-91330)	() (#415)
1 - New York	(100-8057)	(EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-23825)	(BEN DAVIS) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-16785)	(JAMES JACKSON) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-34032)	(LOUIS BURNHAM) (#422)
1 - New York	(100-129629)	(WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#416)
1 - New York	(100-79025)	(MILDRED MC ADORY) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-56579)	(PHIL BART) (#422)
1 - New York	(100-9365)	(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-13483)	(BETTY GANNETT) (#422)
1 - New York	(100-80644)	(CP, USA - Youth Matters) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-79717)	(CP, USA - Political Activities) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-80640)	(CP, USA - Negro Question) (#415)
1 - New York	(100-87211)	(CP, USA - Factionalism) (#415)

b6
b7c

NY 100-80641

criticized the Party's attitude toward Youth, saying the Youth want to organize but are being restrained from doing so by the Party. FOSTER told DAVIS to pass the word to DENNIS that the Party should let the Youth organize.

DAVIS then proceeded to bring FOSTER up to date on the proceedings of the NEC meeting. DAVIS said the question of the proposed move to Chicago would be brought up at the coming National Committee (NC) meeting.

DAVIS said the next NC meeting is scheduled for 4/25/59, and that the NEC is planning to meet two days previously to discuss the items they want mentioned at the NC meeting.

DAVIS said that at the regular NEC meeting last Tuesday, committees were suggested and people polled to determine if they wanted to be on the committees. DAVIS indicated the work of one of these committees (probably the NEC) "relates to the accounting of the stewardship of the Party." DAVIS then mentioned the following committees and named the following as being affiliated with the particular committee:

1. The NEC Committee - BOB THOMPSON, JACK STACHEL, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, HY LUMER, JOE NORTH, CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), MICKEY (LIMA), and BERT (NELSON).
2. The Political Resolution Committee - IRVING (POTASH), ARNOLD (JOHNSON), CHARLES (HUNTER PITTS ODELL), ERIC BERT, and GENE (DENNIS).

4/1/59

NY 1697-

Bank on

Consolidated

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NY 100-80641

3. The Negro Resolution Committee - BEN DAVIS, JIM JACKSON, BURNHAM (LOUIS), JIM ALLEN, BILL ALBERTSON, KIRCH (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK), MILLIE (MC ADORY) and MOLLIE (WEST).

✓ 4. The Constitution Committee - GEORGE MEYERS, PAT TOUHEY, PHIL BART, MILT (ROSEN), TOM NABRIED (PH), MORRIS CHILDS and SAM KUSHNER.

5. The Program Committee - HY (LUMER), JIM ALLEN, BETTY (GANNETT), CARL WINTER, and TOM DENNIS.

DAVIS said that he, himself is thinking about getting off the Negro Resolution Committee and getting on the NEC Committee .

FOSTER cited the need to write a real Communist Trade Union Resolution "at this convention." He also said it would be necessary to write a Negro Resolution as the JACKSON material will not fill the bill. FOSTER said the political action movement should go along the line of his article (probably "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the United States.")

FOSTER also told DAVIS it would be necessary to get a new General Secretary. DAVIS agreed . FOSTER stated something should be done to make DENNIS the number two or number three man. FOSTER said he would say the most important thing that must be done at the convention is to elect a real fighter as the General Secretary. FOSTER also asserted there is more bureaucracy at the top of the Party now than there has ever been.

NY 100-80641

DAVIS stated that every time he fights DENNIS on anything BOB (THOMPSON) intervenes as the peace maker.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC N.Y. (100-56579)^{#415} DATE 4/13/59

FROM : SA RICHARD A. DONOVAN

SUBJECT: PHIL BART
IS-C

On 4/13/59, SA JAMES FITZGERALD & the writer conducted a surveillance at subject's residence from 7¹⁵ to 12 noon. Subject was not observed.

100-56579-322

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

4/7

NY 694

Phil

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Sdc

in 2 weeks
in 1/2 hr

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-52444)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-27452)(415)

SUBJECT: ROBERT THOMPSON
IS - C

DATE: 4/14/59

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of information herein inasmuch as said information, by its nature, tends to identify NY 694-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof.

On 4/7/59, NY 694-S* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that on 4/6/59 he conferred with ROBERT THOMPSON, CP, USA Executive Secretary, who told him the following:

Within two weeks, PHIL BART will be back on the National Office payroll as Assistant Organizational Secretary. This position incorporates the duties of National Office Treasurer, and BART is not at all willing to assume the responsibilities of National Office Treasurer. THOMPSON is insisting that BART also assume the responsibilities of Treasurer, and in that connection, will have further discussions with BART, probably on the evening of April 6, 1959.

Implementing the National Office staff at this time is

5 - Bureau (100-52444) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (RM)
(1-100-) (PHIL BART)
(1-100-330932) (CHARLES LOMAN)
(1-100-3-69) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)
2 - Chicago (100-33741) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION) (INFO) (RM)
(1-134-46) (CG 5824-S)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (415)
1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA - FUNDS) (415)
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (415)
1 - NY 100-52959 (CHARLES LOMAN) (422)
1 - NY 100-128314 (CP, USA - FUNDS - NYD) (416)
1 - NY 100-26603-C43 (CP, USA - NYD - KINGS COUNTY) (422)
1 - NY 100-134146 (RUBINS CHEMISTS, INC.) (416)
1 - NY 100-27452 (415)

ACB:msb
(16)

100-56579-3323

415

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APR 14 1959	
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NY 100-27452

predicated upon the assumption that, at the next N. C. meeting, unless there be an "upset," there will be a definite decision not to move the N. O. to Chicago. As Assistant Organizational Secretary, BART will be assistant to THOMPSON, whose position as Executive Secretary includes that of Organizational Secretary.

THOMPSON, before meeting NY 694-S, had attended a meeting at the National Office, also attended by CHARLES LOMAN, at which LOMAN's future activity was discussed.

LOMAN's "situation" is not good: he refused to accept any Party assignment offered to him. He is doing "absolutely nothing" for the Party at this time. THOMPSON foresees that LOMAN is "on the way out," which is indicated by his attitude. LOMAN may think that at the next CP Convention he may become the leader of a new Ultra-Left group within the Party, but THOMPSON thinks LOMAN is "miscalculating."

There is currently a re-investigation of LOMAN's financial operations because there are indications that he has been involved in "some financial monkey-business, particularly with respect to 'that' drugstore." (Rubin Chemists, Inc., 540 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

4/15/59

SA JAMES E. REILLY

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 2353-S* (Conceal and
paraphrase)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date: 4/1/59

NY 2353-S* has reported that on 4/1/59, PHIL (BART) contacted BOB (THOMPSON) and said he and GENE (DENNIS) agreed that he would come in a week before the NC meeting but before then he would spend some time with BOB. He said the idea was that he would leave his job on the 15th or 16th. He said he could also take home some literature to read. They agreed to meet on Monday (4/6/59) evening and spend the evening together.

- (1) New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
1- New York (100-27452) (ROBERT G. THOMPSON) (415)
1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
1- New York (100-80641) (415)

JER:gms
(4)

100-56579-3324

415

H. Quinn

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-12481)

DATE: 4/15/59

FROM: HAROLD P. QUINN, #415

SUBJECT: BERNARD ADES
IS-C

On [redacted] furnished information regarding a conversation which took place in the office of BERNARD ADES, 505 Fifth Avenue, NYC.

b7D

At approximately 11:55 a.m., on the above date, ADES made a phone call and spoke to an unsub. Apparently the conversation was regarding the unsub's tax return and a letter he received from the Internal Revenue about his failure to find a tax return for him some time in 1954 and 1955. ADES states to the unsub that what they are trying to avoid in their dealings with the Internal Revenue Service is a criminal prosecution. He said that even if the unsub had filed a tax return, he could still take the Fifth and not answer any questions. He said that this is the best way to do it and that is the advice he is giving to everyone, even to those who have filed. He said the Internal Revenue has sent out about 50 letters, ten of these have been from "Mr. [redacted]".

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11 New York (100-12481)
(1 - 100-96985) (CP - Underground) (#415)
(1 - 100-91418) (JUNIOUS SCALES) (#421)
(1 - 100-18673) (GEORGE WATT) (#425)
(1 - 100-51955) (SAM COLEMAN) (#424)
(1 - 100-18402) (CARL DORFMAN) (#425)
(1 - 100-86944) (HANK FARASH) (#421)
(1 - 100-81762) (QUINCY GOLDBERG)
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#422)
(1 - 100-56) (MIKE DAVIDOW)
(1 - 100-9538) (WILLIAM GOTH) (#421)

HPQ:rag
(11)

H. H.

100-56579-3325

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	
H. QUINN	

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NY 100-12481

ADES then tells the unsub that JUNIUS SCALES got one of these letters and he told the Internal Revenue that he had filed in North Carolina. He said that GEORGE WATT got one along with SAM COLEMAN, CARL DORFMAN and ____ FARASH, QUINCY GOLDBERG, PHIL BART and MIKE DAVIDOW.

ADES then ends the conversation stating that the unsub should call him before he does anything.

At approximately 4:15 p.m., BILL GOTH enters the office and they discuss dogs and cats and other unpertinent material.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284) DATE: 4/16/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

SUBJECT: PHIL BART
SM-C

2/14
8

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 3/30/59, NY 2362-S* advised that on above date EUGENE DENNIS had a brief discussion with an individual believed to be PHIL BART at DENNIS' office, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC.

According to the informant, DENNIS advised BART that the opinion of the comrades is that they should prevail upon BART to act as quickly as possible to make yourself available.....

BART stated that he would work until the 17th (April?) and that CONNIE (BART) gets her vacation the first week in July and he would like to spend a couple of weeks with her. The informant noted that no definite commitment was made by BART, but he advised DENNIS that THOMPSON should contact him in a day or two.

It is believed that BART is being called in to work in the National Office in order to relieve BOB THOMPSON of some of his duties. In this regard,

- 2 - Bureau (100-3284)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-80641) (CP, USA Organization) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (416)
- ① - New York (100-56579)

HCO:mvs

(8) *mvs**100-56579-3326*

NY 100-56579

it should be noted that at a resident NEC CP, USA meeting held on 3/25/59, this informant further advised that a lengthy discussion was held as to an assignment for PHIL BART. At this meeting BEN DAVIS, JR. made the comment that BART has a very serious heart ailment. Informant noted that DENNIS took exception to DAVIS' statement that BART was suffering from a heart ailment. DAVIS stated that he had talked to CONNIE (BART) about it and she said that there was a very close connection between asthma and a cardiac condition.

Continuing DAVIS stated that it was his opinion that they should look around for younger people to bring into leadership.

ROBERT THOMPSON commented that he had the highest regard for PHIL (BART) both as to his loyalty and capabilities. He said that he was not aware of the health condition as stated by DAVIS but was of the opinion that they should look into this matter first.

Informant advised that there was further comment concerning PHIL BART's health and it was agreed that they would speak to BART.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (415)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 4/17/59

1 - Baltimore	(100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS) (RM)
1 - Buffalo	(100-11933) (MILTON ROSEN) (RM)
4 - Chicago	(100-20289) (JAMES WEST) (RM)
	(1-61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
	(1-100-2749) (MOLLIE WEST)
	(1-100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
1 - Cleveland	(65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK) (RM)
2 - Detroit	(100-13420) (CARL WINTER) (RM)
	(1-100-8482) (THOMAS DENNIS)
1 - Newark	(100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY) (RM)
1 - San Francisco	(65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA) (RM)
1 - Seattle	(100-127) (BURT NELSON) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91	(INV) (415)
1 - NY 100-79717	(CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (415)
1 - NY 100-80640	(CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
1 - NY 100-81752	(CP, USA - BRIEF) (41)
1 - NY 100-27452	(ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-105078	(HYMAN LUMER) (415)
1 - NY 100-18065	(JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY 100-1696	(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
1 - NY 100-8057	(EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-48033	(IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-16021	(ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-91330	[REDACTED] (415)
1 - NY 100-25623	(ERIK BERT) (422)
1 - NY 100-	(UNSUB; Designated with initials "G.O." under consideration as a member of a committee to prepare a report for the next CP, USA Convention) (412)
1 - NY 100-23825	(BEN DAVIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-16785	(JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-34032	(LOU BURNHAM) (422)
1 - NY 100-32826	(JAMES ALLEN) (415)
1 - NY 100-79025	(MILDRED MC ADORY) (425)

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COPIES CONT-D

1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

DR:msb
(37)

100 56579 -3327

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FBI - NEW YORK	

H. QUINN

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NY 100-80641

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information to protect identity of informant.

On 3/30/59, NY 694-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal), made available to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON a one-page carbon copy of a typewritten letter dated 3/27/59, which informant had received on the same date from JEAN SMITH, office worker at CP, USA National Headquarters, NYC.

Informant advised that this document was sent to those non-resident NEC members of the CP, USA who were unable to attend the last NEC meeting held at NYC on 3/20-22/59, and it sets out information regarding the NEC meeting and tentative proposals regarding the establishment of convention committees for the next CP, USA National Convention.

A copy of the above-described letter follows, it being noted that members under consideration for the various convention committees are referred to by first name or by a portion of their name. In the case of two individuals, they are only referred to as "B. O." and "B. O." Other than these latter initials, the NYO believes the other individuals mentioned in the CP letter are identical to those individuals to whom copies of this memorandum have been designated.

By letter dated 3/31/59, captioned CP, USA - ORGANIZATION IS - C, the text of the above-described CP document was furnished to the Bureau.

COPIES CONT'D

1 - NY 100-	(UNSUB; Designated by initials "B.O." under consideration as a member of a committee to prepare a report for the next CP, USA Convention) (412)
1 - NY 100-129629	(WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-13483	(BETTY GANNETT) (423)
1 - NY 100-80532	(HERBERT APTHEKER) (422)

NY 100-80641

March 27, 1959

To the non-resident NEC members (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~)

Dear Comrades:

The resident committee had an exchange of opinion on the establishment of working committees to draft a number of convention documents. In a nutshell, our conclusions are as follows:

First, the N.E.C. as a whole should be responsible for the drafting and editing of the documents which will be submitted to the N.C. in July. For this purpose the N.C. should establish at this time small working committees to prepare a report of the N.E.C. to the convention -- the main political resolution: resolution on the Negro question; changes in the Constitution; Elements of the Draft Party Program. Other committees, such as on appeals and general resolutions can be established in July.

In respect to the committees to be set up at this time, we are of the opinion that the personnel of these committees do not need to be publicized. They will be in effect sub-committees of the N.E.C. The N.C. in July can at that time establish the provisional convention committees which may or may not include all of the comrades who will work in the preparation of the initial drafts.

In line with the above, we submit for your consideration the following tentative proposals. After we receive your recommendations as well as the additional thinking of the various members of the resident committee, I will communicate with you again and we can take final action at the N.E.C. meeting on April 23rd or 24th:--

REPORT OF N.E.C. -- Bob, Hy, Jack, Elizabeth, Claude,
Mickie, Burt

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION -- Gene, Irving, Arnold,
Charles, Erik, G.O. and J. West

NY 100-80641

RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION -- Ben, Jim Jackson,
L. J. Allen, Milt, Millie, Krch
and B. O.

CONSTITUTION: G. Meyers, Albertson, Bart, Toohey, ✓
Nabried, Mollie, Sam.

PROGRAM -- Carl, Hy, Allen, Betty, T. Dennis, Herb.

As you will note, we have endeavored to keep the committees to a maximum of seven and we deemed it advisable that at least four members of each committee should reside in one vicinity so as to facilitate frequent and regular functioning. Outside of Mickie and Burt, we believe at this stage, particularly in view of financial problems as well as because of the advisability of setting up working committees, that the main composition of the committee should be drawn from the eastern and midwest areas. We should also consider whether or not one or more of the above committees might not be composed in a majority of comrades from one or another of the midwest centers.

We would like to urge that these suggestions and your proposals shall remain, at this time at least, matters for discussion only, i.e., within the N.E.C.

Comradely,

Gene Dennis

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)

4/21/59

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON (415)

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Identity of source	CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Date of activity	4/16/59
Date received	4/17/59
Received by	SA JOHN KEATING

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, it tends to identify CG 5824-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof.

According to EUGENE DENNIS, there will be a meeting of the full membership of the CP, USA, National Executive Committee on 4/23/59. At the meeting JAMES JACKSON will give a report on the 21st Congress of the CPSU, and will state that he was a guest and not a delegate at the said 21st Congress.

Also, according to DENNIS, JACKSON has been instructed to omit saying at either the NEC meeting or at the National Committee meeting scheduled for the weekend of April 25-26, 1959, that he attended a special meeting with representatives of the leadership of the CC CPSU in regard to CP, USA, problems. JACKSON is to refer merely to some statements made by leading members of the CC CPSU.

1 - NY 66-6989	(CG 5824-S*)(Inv)(415)
1 - NY 100-86624	(CP, USA, International Relations)(415)
1 - NY 100-8057	(EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-16785	(JAMES JACKSON)(415)
1 - NY 100-13203	(GEORGE MORRIS)(423)
1 - NY 100-9365	(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(415)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART)(422)
1 - NY 100-27452	(ROBERT THOMPSON)(415)
1 - NY 100-80641	(415)

ACB:mfd
(9)

100-80641-3328

415

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b7c

NY 100-80641

DENNIS also reported that GEORGE MORRIS was cursing JIM JACKSON because MORRIS was not allowed to participate in some of the more intimate discussions with representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. MORRIS, according to DENNIS, said that he had met with ALEXEI and NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS of the International Department of the CC CPSU in regard to CP, USA, matters.

MORRIS, according to DENNIS, reported that he had told ALEXEI and NIKOLAI that JACKSON was too diplomatic in his comments concerning WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. MORRIS told the Russians that FOSTER is "a pain in the neck", and is doing the CP, USA, a disservice.

According to DENNIS, PHIL BART is being brought into the National Office of the CP, USA, and will be the Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA. DENNIS indicated that he is very pleased with this development. He said that ROBERT THOMPSON, Executive Secretary of the CP, USA, presently is away from work on more days than he is at work, his absence being due to illness. It is entirely possible that within a couple of weeks, THOMPSON will not be able to function as Executive Secretary, either because of illness or an adverse decision in his Smith Act case.

DENNIS also remarked that, according to JACKSON, when the latter was in China, LIV SHAO CHI told him that numbers in a Communist Party are not important. JACKSON indicated to DENNIS that he had been more impressed by the Chinese than he had been by the Russians.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-96985)(415)

4/21/59

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON (415)

CP, USA - UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS
IS - C

Identity of Source: CG 5824-S*, who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: 4/16/59

Date received: 4/16/59

Received by: SA JOHN KEATING

According to EUGENE DENNIS, PHIL BART is being brought
into the National Office of the CP, USA and will be the Organization-
al Secretary of the CP, USA.

One of BART's first tasks will be to prepare a
skeleton organization of limited personnel which will prepare
to establish an underground setup in the event that the
Government begins to arrest Communists or starts to raid Party
offices. DENNIS indicated that he wanted MORRIS CHILDS of
Chicago to give BART some assistance in this matter, but
not to become too involved in it.

DENNIS stated that he felt hard times were ahead
for the CP, USA unless there should be a change in the inter-
national situation.

1 - NY 66-6989	(CG 5824-S*)(415)
1 - NY 100-80641	(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(415)
① - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART)(422)
1 - NY 100-8057	(EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-96985	(415)

ACB:msb
(5)

100-52579-3329

415 [redacted] b6 b7C
H. Quinn

SAC, NEW YORK (100-27452)

4/22/59

SA MARVIN R. DORAN

ROBERT G. THOMPSON
IS - C

Identity of Source: NY 2416-S* (Conceal and
paraphrase)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date: 4/9/59

NY 2416-S* reported on 4/9/59, that ROBERT THOMPSON contacted IRVING POTASH at CP Headquarters, NYC on that date concerning PHIL BART. POTASH said that BART will start to work (at CP, USA Headquarters) on about 4/15/59. THOMPSON corrected POTASH saying "no - around the 17th or 18th".

THOMPSON said he was to meet with PHIL BART between 5 PM and 5:15 PM, however, he will not be able to keep the meeting and asked POTASH to meet with BART for about an hour in order to bring him up to date as to what the problems are and to explain things to him. POTASH replied he would be glad to do so.

NY 2416-S* reported later on 4/9/59, that Dr. MARVIN BELSKY contacted THOMPSON, stating he wanted him to see Dr. [redacted] (ph) or a neurosurgeon. Dr. BELSKY suggested either Dr. [redacted] (ph) or Dr. [redacted] Dr. BELSKY suggested that THOMPSON not leave his apartment.

b6
b7C

1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
1- New York (100-27452) (415)

MRD:gms
(3)

FILE STRIPPED
BY [signature] ON 3/28/70

100-56579- 3330

415
HP Quinn [signature]

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